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MAP OF HUDSON RIVER AREA OF OPERATIONS, SECOND
DELAWARE MILITIA REGIMENT

The map is from Jared Sparks, *Library of American Biography*, III, 176
(New York, 1839). Additions by author.

Our Forgotten Regiment: The Second Delaware Militia, 1780

By JAMES B. JACKSON *

THE services of all but one of Delaware's known Revolutionary War military units have been ably chronicled by the late Christopher L. Ward and his predecessors among the State's military historians.

The one unit about which little or no detail has been recorded to date is Lieutenant Colonel Henry Neill's "Second Delaware Regiment."¹ The only known account of its services, among these published chronicles, is a very brief reference to it by the late Henry Hobart Bellas in his *History of the Delaware State Society of the Cincinnati*, published by the Historical Society in 1895. On page 42 of that publication he notes that:

Delaware, by an Act of the General Assembly, passed June 21, 1780, raised a fourth regiment, and the command was assigned to Colonel Henry Neill. It was the second Continental regiment mustered into the service of the United States from that State. It was called "Continental Regiment, No. 38," was stationed in Kent County, Maryland, and served out a limited period.

* Mr. Jackson is a native Dover businessman with a long-standing interest in local history.

¹ In the preserved regimental records the unit is referred to by many designations, the most common of which are: "Col. Henry Neill's Regiment," "The Second Delaware Regiment," and the "Second Delaware Regiment, Militia." There are also other combinations or contractions of these used. The designation "The Second Delaware Regiment" is misleading for two reasons: 1) It implies that the regiment was a Continental regiment, which it was not. 2) Chronologically, it was not the second Delaware unit to be organized during the War; it was the fourth, not including the local standing militia.

The designation "second" obviously was intended to refer to the fact that it was the second regiment of state militiamen organized, upon the call of Congress, especially for a specified short term of service as an adjunct to the Continental Army. The first such unit was Colonel Patterson's "Delaware Battalion of the Flying Camp," which served for a few months in 1776. It seems, therefore, that the only correct designation of Neill's regiment is one which includes the word "militia," i. e., "The Second Delaware Militia Regiment," or "The Second Delaware Regiment of Militia."

Later historians, in referring to this regiment, have apparently accepted the above account as basic fact and have included it in their subsequent writings on the subject.

While doing some recent research involving the source material contained in the *Delaware Military Archives*, I noticed some original regimental records that were quite obviously in conflict with the above account. Among these was a report showing in some detail the exact location of the regiment during its entire tour of duty. It told a story quite different from that recorded by Mr. Bellas.

This interesting evidence of apparent conflict was then brought to the attention of Mr. Leon deValinger, Jr., who, after examining it, together with other relevant material, expressed a confirming opinion that the Bellas account was definitely in error as to the unit's designation and area of duty. A further check of Mr. Bellas' source references revealed beyond doubt that he had drawn an erroneous conclusion from data that was totally unrelated to the subject. In fairness to him it should be noted that the above regimental records were not available for research until many years after his account was written.

The facts revealed by this preliminary inquiry, plus a natural curiosity as to the true picture, seemed to warrant further investigation. The resultant research has been reasonably fruitful in spite of the relative obscurity of the subject. The preserved regimental records and related data among other sources, while considerable, are fragmentary and generally uninformative concerning the detailed performance of the unit's assigned duties. For this reason some of its story must be told in terms of those situations and events in which it is definitely known to have participated. Fortunately these events were of major historical significance and have been authoritatively documented in considerable interesting detail. It has thus been possible to assemble a fairly comprehensive and objective chronicle of the regiment's service by correlating the known details of these related happenings with the surviving regimental records.

As is usually the case in research of this type, a number of obvious questions are left unanswered for lack of sufficient reliable information. No attempt has been made to fill or color this

account. Conjecture or opinion has been injected only where necessary to maintain reasonable narrative continuity, and only then if it can be based upon well-founded probability. In all such cases it is readily distinguishable from documented fact.

The Second Delaware Regiment of Militia was part of a quota of troops called up at one of the darkest hours of the war to participate in a proposed major offensive. However, a chain of obstructive circumstances combined with Benedict Arnold's treachery to force the abandonment of the planned engagement. The regiment was thus spared the ordeal of combat action. Its tour of duty at a Hudson River post was a rather typical militia assignment consisting mainly of fatigue, garrison, and patrol duty enlivened, however, by several interesting incidents of the Arnold-André episode.

The story of Neill's Militia is obviously tame by comparison with that of Haslet's or the famed Delaware Continentals. It is nevertheless considered worth the telling because it fills an obvious void in the State's military history, and records the service of men who answered the call at a time when great numbers of others had all but given up the revolutionary cause as lost—men who earned a commendation from General Washington for "the alacrity and spirit with which they took the field, and for their orderly and soldier like behavior while in service."

The spring of 1780 found the American revolutionary war effort at one of the lowest points reached during the first five years of the conflict.² The British enjoyed virtually complete control of the sea about most of the important points along the coast, and their operations against Charleston, South Carolina heralded a major offensive against the poorly defended southern states. To meet this new threat Washington was forced to divide his under-manned army and send its veteran core of Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia regulars south to reinforce the local defenders. The enemy, at the same time, retained their firm

² The general background information is a condensation of relevant data obtained by reference to Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography* (New York, 1952), Vol. V; and Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* (New York, 1855), Vol. I.

grip on New York City and Long Island; and the suspicious activity of their troops in this quarter caused the Commander in Chief to hold the main body of his Continentals in northern New Jersey to defend against any threat to his supply bases and the all-important Hudson River Valley.

As to the condition of the American army and the economy behind it, Washington had less than 4,000 regulars fit for active duty, and these were under-officered and racked with dissension. Their morale reached bottom in May when whole regiments became openly mutinous. Continental currency was held at the ratio of 40 to 1 of specie, and the state of affairs prevailing as a result of this economic failure is vividly recorded in a report to Congress which stated that:

. . . the Army was five months pay in arrears . . . that at present it is without meat, and has been on half, and on quarter allowance for some days past. . . . That as every department of the Army is without money, and not even the shadow of credit left, no articles however necessary can be procured. . . .³

The only apparent bright spot in this grim picture was the hope engendered by the Marquis de Lafayette's word of the coming French reinforcements. Spurred by this news the rebel leaders began to reorganize their meagre resources for one great effort designed to snatch victory from the very jaws of final defeat. On May 31 a report of these plans was presented to the Committee of Cooperation of Congress. It recommended that "our arrangements should be made on the principle of the greatest enterprise we can undertake against the whole force of the enemy united; that is an enterprise against New York with the [British] troops acting to the Southward added to its present Garrison."⁴

The rest of this report reviews in detail the requirements of men and materiel needed for the proposed action, and notes the coordination of effort expected from the French allies. It recommends that a total American force of 40,000 be speedily raised,

³ Edmund C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, V (Washington, 1931), 165-66.

⁴ John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, XVIII (Washington, 1937), 456.

calling the Continental battalions to 22,680 men, and concludes that:

... the balance of 17,320 must consist of Militia. These must be furnished by the States from New Hampshire to Maryland inclusive, according to the proximity and ability of each. It is proposed that they be assembled at the appointed places of rendezvous to serve for three, at least, two months after joining the Army. . . .⁵

It is interesting to note at this point that many historians of the Revolution have wondered, in retrospect, just what portion of this fantastic requirement was actually expected to be forthcoming under the circumstances.

The Continental Congress acted with unaccustomed dispatch to implement the military's bold proposal. After the plan was approved, the leaders of the various states were advised by circular and personal letter of their parts in the enterprise. It remains now to record how Delaware, in particular, was able to dispose its share of the whole.

The Congressional "suggestions" for Delaware's quota of militiamen and materiel, together with a personal appeal from General Washington, were received in early June by Caesar Rodney, then "President of the Delaware State."

He presented these requisitions to the General Assembly on June 17, and noted that "as the General is very pressing, I am persuaded you will do everything in your power, without the least delay, to answer his expectations."⁶ Previous to this date the Assembly had already set in motion a recruiting program designed to fill the depleted ranks of the Delaware Continental Regiment;⁷ and also approved "An Act for furnishing the Continental Treasury with the sum of One Hundred and Thirty-two Thousand Eight Hundred Dollars by Loan on the Credit of the State."⁸

On June 21 the Assembly adjourned, following the final passage of these two acts, which provided the full measure of aid requested in the emergency:

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

⁶ George H. Ryden, ed., *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney, 1756-1784* (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 346.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 346.

I—An Act for immediately embodying Three Hundred and Fifteen of the Militia of this State for the purpose of reinforcing the Army of the United States.⁹

II—An Act for procuring an immediate supply of Provision [beef, bacon, flour, grain, wagons, and horses] for the Army. . . .¹⁰

It is pertinent to note that, although the reins of government were firmly controlled by the Whig patriot faction, a pre-arranged move to give Rodney martial law powers was unaccountably sidetracked just before adjournment.¹¹ This circumstance perhaps calls forth the observance of some relevant "facts of life" about the local scene at this time.

Most of our best known historians have, for reasons known only to themselves, chosen to give the impression that the great majority of Delaware's 37,000 war-time population were advocates of the rebel cause. An objective analysis of the most authoritative references reveals quite clearly that the direct opposite was more likely the case. A reliable authority has estimated "that one-fifth the population of New Castle County, one-half in Kent, and four-fifths in Sussex were loyalist, or approximately one-half the population of the State. . . . The remainder may be divided into a pacifist or hesitant element representing 20% . . . and a patriotic faction consisting of 30%. . . ." ¹² In the very year with which we are concerned John Adams wrote, respecting Delaware, that there were "in this little State, from various causes, more tories in proportion, than in any other." ¹³ The odd paradox of government by minority is explained by these historically obvious factors: the superior organization and crusading zeal of the rebel radicals; and the influence of "agencies outside of Delaware." ¹⁴

The troublesome activities of the disaffected reached a peak during the early years of the war, then tapered off somewhat

⁹ Delaware Enrolled Bills, 1780-1784 (Hall of Records, Dover), pp. 45-52; Ryden, *op. cit.*, pp. 346-47.

¹⁰ Delaware Enrolled Bills, 1780-1784, pp. 53-63; Ryden, *op. cit.*, pp. 346-47.

¹¹ Ryden, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-48.

¹² Harold B. Hancock, *The Delaware Loyalists*, Papers of the Historical Society, New Series IV (Wilmington, 1940), pp. 56-57.

¹³ Charles F. Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams*, X (Boston, 1856), 277.

¹⁴ Hancock, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

uring the middle period. In 1780, however, they began to show signs of renewed vigor, heartened no doubt by the desperate plight of the rebel cause. By midsummer an active rebellion by some 400 Sussex Tories was, in fact, brewing to a troublesome climax.¹⁵ Coincidentally the related enemy raids along the Bay coast increased in both size and frequency.

There were numerous other factors that were to plague the government's effort to supply the promised aid. A considerable number of the more patriotic eligible men were already under arms with the Delaware Line, and the two recruiting programs competed with each other for the remainder. Most of the militiamen were farmers and the crop season was at hand. The money situation was desperate, and there were virtually no provisions made to care for the families of men in service. There was, indeed, a vast difference between the promise and the actual accomplishment of the commitments.

Enlistment in the State Militia was at this time compulsory for all able-bodied freemen between the ages of eighteen and fifty-two, except clergymen and certain exempt officials.¹⁶ The entire enlistment, reliably estimated at some 6,300 rank-and-file, was divided into eight "classes" which were subject to call, in turn, for active duty under arms when the need arose.¹⁷

The Act creating the new regiment recognized that "it would be very injurious to the inhabitants to be obliged to take their tour of duty as they stand classed by the Militia Law at this season of the year." It accordingly provided for a new method of selection by specifying that "every Militia Company . . . shall on or before the Tenth Day of July next, furnish one able-bodied effective man . . . for every twenty men belonging to such Company, to compose the regiment."¹⁸

Each captain of the militia was empowered to "engage the aforesaid number of men to be furnished by his company upon as moderate terms as he can agree with them for." The bounties to be paid to the recruits were to be raised by assessment upon

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38; Ryden, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

¹⁶ Delaware Enrolled Bills, 1776-1779, p. 104.

¹⁷ Estimated from 1:20 ratio noted in New Militia Law.

¹⁸ Delaware Enrolled Bills, 1780-1784, pp. 45-52. All subsequent references to the organization of the regiment are from this same source.

the "other individuals composing said Company" in proportion to their current county tax assessment. The captains were further authorized to "draft the required number of men . . . by lot," for a fixed bounty of £150 if the voluntary enlistment procedure failed to fill the quota. A fine of £300 was imposed upon those refusing to serve when drafted, and the fines thus collected were payable to the "person of his Company who serves in the Room of the Person so refusing."

The law specified that the regiment "shall continue in the service of the United States until the First Day of November next, unless sooner discharged, and shall be subject to and governed by the orders and directions of the Commander-in-Chief . . . and shall be intitled to the same pay, rations, and subsistence money as the officers and soldiers of the Continental Army are intitled to." In addition, the commissioned officers were to be provided with extra expense money ranging from £200 to £500, according to rank, half to be paid upon marching, the balance upon discharge. A pension, "during her widowhood," of one-half the soldier's pay was promised the wife of any man dying in service.

The regiment was to be formed into six companies, two from each county, but President Rodney, as commander in chief of the militia, was empowered to commission the required staff and company officers without restriction as to their area of residence.

On July 8 Henry Neill of Lewes was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel and Commandant of the new regiment.¹⁹ He was an ardent Whig and active opponent of the Sussex Tory group.²⁰ His previous military record covered long service as a home militia officer and active duty with the Delaware Battalion of the "Flying Camp" in late 1776, during which service he was described as a "spirited" officer.²¹ The second in command, Major James Mitchell of the Sussex militia, was also commis-

¹⁹ Public Archives Commission of Delaware, *Delaware Archives: Military and Naval Records*, II (1912), 631.

²⁰ *Delaware Archives: Revolutionary War*, III (1919), 1282.

²¹ *Delaware Archives: Military*, I (1911), 86.

oned on that same date.²² There is nothing to indicate that both of these officers accepted their calls with other than complete willingness.

It was another story, however, when it came to filling many of the lower commissions. The correspondence of President Rodney contains a number of references to the problems faced. Although not bound by law to do so, he "nevertheless thought it a compliment due to each county to give them an opportunity to furnish an equal number of officers."²³ However, General Patterson of New Castle County reported numerous refusals and advised that he was "sorry such are so bad sale" there.²⁴

It appears that the junior officers of Kent were somewhat more receptive, because Rodney replied that he had "given commissions to a number of promising young gentlemen of this county upon their personal applications, and could ere this have filled up commissions for all the Companies in the Battalion in the same way, had not the respect I have for the gentlemen of your County and the one below inclined me to proceed as I have. . . ." ²⁵ From Sussex came further word of local refusals which brought about the added complication that "the men absolutely refused to March unless they were assured they should be Commanded by Captains from their own County." ²⁶

Because of these and other difficulties the complete roster of officers was not filled until August 7, after the bulk of the battalion had been assembled at Wilmington. A total of thirty men had been actually commissioned at one time or another. Of these, seven resigned before being called up, and further last minute appointments had to be made to fill the vacancies.²⁷ The accompanying listing shows the final permanent roster.²⁸

²² *Ibid.*, II, 631.

²³ Ryden, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

²⁷ *Delaware Archives*, III, 1274-75.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 631.

ROSTER OF THE COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF THE SECOND DELAWARE REGIMENT OF MILITIA

Lieutenant Colonel Henry Neill

Major James Mitchell

Adjutant—James Tresham

Quartermaster—John West

Surgeon—Robert Wilcox

CAPTAINS

Simon Wilmer Wilson

Charles Nixon

Hugh McCracken

George Smith

William McClements

William Moore

LIEUTENANTS

Samuel Derrickson

John Venn

Joseph Enos

Lucas Stidham

Jacob Irons

Benjamin Warren

ENSIGNS

James Frazier

William Newbold

Samuel Moore

Peter Jaquett, Jr.

John Piper

John Howell

It should be observed here that Captains McCracken, McClements, and Moore, and Lieutenants Irons and Warren had all accepted lower commissions earlier in June and were advanced to their final ranks when others resigned.²⁹ Senior Captain Wilson is the only company commander known to have had

²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 1274-75.

previous combat experience. He saw action at Princeton and Trenton as an Ensign with Thomas Rodney's Dover Light Infantry Company.³⁰ Both Nixon and McClements had earlier been privates in this unit, but did not see action.³¹

The recruiting program for the rank-and-file had been going on meanwhile under the direction of the militia officers in each county. The existing records of this phase indicate that considerable difficulty was encountered in inducing the required enlistments. The law contained no really effective "teeth," and the agents charged with its enforcement appear to have chosen not to enforce its punitive provisions too rigidly. Substitutions were numerous and the standard bounty seems to have been \$1,000 per man, with as much as 1,500 being paid in some instances.³²

These bounties, strangely, were much larger than those being paid to recruits entering Delaware's regular Continental Regiment for duration service. This situation caused Rodney to advise General Washington that it would "effectually prevent our recruiting in future for the State Regiment, which I am persuaded is of much more importance."³³ It is an interesting digression to note the prophetic nature of these words in the light of what was shortly to befall the "too brave" Delaware regulars in the disastrous battle of Camden, South Carolina.

By July 10 there were enough of the original recruits to permit the Second Delaware Regiment of Militia to be officially embodied "on that date."³⁴ Just where the men were mustered at that time is not clear. Later that month, impelled by directions from Washington, President Rodney ordered the still incomplete battalion to rendezvous in Wilmington.³⁵ The available down-state recruits assembled at Dover from where they marched on July 28.³⁶ Additional numbers joined the march at Duck Creek Crossroads (Smyrna) and Christiana Bridge. The

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1243.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1239.

³² *Ibid.*, II, 662-64; Ryden, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

³³ Ryden, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

³⁴ *Delaware Archives*, II, 900.

³⁵ Ryden, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

³⁶ *Delaware Archives*, II, 649.

contingent numbered 165 men and 12 horses when it arrived in Wilmington on August 3, where the men from that area were already assembled.³⁷

The accompanying return shows the exact condition of the regiment at the time of its first review there.³⁸ It will be noted that a substantial part of the Sussex quota was on hand in spite of the fact that no captains from the county had as yet been commissioned. The rest, ultimately commanded by Captain Smith, were not destined to join the regiment until quite some time later.³⁹

President Rodney came to Wilmington and assumed personal charge of the final organization of the battalion.⁴⁰ The vacant commissions were promptly filled, and a few additional recruits were added during the next several days. Also assigned to temporary duty with the unit were a few recently apprehended deserters from the Continental Regiment.⁴¹ Colonel Neill, who was not present for the first review, appears to have joined his regiment shortly thereafter.

Having already received marching instructions from Washington, President Rodney issued the following orders to Colonel Neill on August 9:

You are immediately to proceed with the Regiment under your Command to the City of Philadelphia. Upon your Arrival at Phila. you are to apply to the Honble the Board of War for Arms & Accoutrements for your Regiment, and when obtained to proceed without Loss of Time

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 649, 651. Among the preserved regimental records are some fragmentary enlistment returns that give the national origin, age, height, and complexion or hair color of some forty recruits from various sections of New Castle County (*Delaware Archives*, II, 658-65). An analysis of this fair-sized sample provides some interesting statistics that should approximately apply to the regiment as a whole.

Perhaps the most significant revelation is that only 45 per cent of the men were native-born Americans, while an equal percentage were Irishmen. The remaining 10 per cent were Englishmen. Eighty-five percent were between the ages of twenty and thirty, with 10 per cent under twenty, and 5 per cent over thirty. The average age was twenty-four; the youngest eighteen, and the oldest forty-four. Ninety per cent were between five feet six inches and five feet nine inches tall. The average height was five feet seven and a half inches, and none was taller than five feet ten. Almost two-thirds of them were dark haired or complexioned.

³⁸ *Delaware Archives*, II, 632.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 636.

⁴⁰ Ryden, *op. cit.*, pp. 359, 362.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

DELAWARE ARCHIVES.

RETURN OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE 2nd DELAWARE REGIMENT COMMANDED BY COL. HENRY NEILL, WILMING. AUGUST 4th 1780.

PRESENT

WANTING TO COMPLETE

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS										Non Commissioned Officers		Privates		Commissioned Officers				Non Commis. Officers.		Privates.	
Kent County.....	Lieut Colonel																				
	Major																				
	Captains																				
	Lieutenants																				
	Ensigns																				
	Adjutant																				
	Quartr Master																				
Sussex Do	Surgeon																				
	Serjeants																				
New Castle Do.....	Drumrs and Fifers																				
	Rank and File																				
Total.....	Total																				

Jas Tresham, Adjt 2nd D.R.

N. B. Colo Neill not yet joined
 Ensign Howell Do

SECOND DELAWARE MILITIA REGIMENT AT FIRST REVIEW

The original is in the Public Archives Commission, Hall of Records, Dover, Delaware. Delaware Archives, II, 632.

and join the Grand Army of the United States unless otherwise ordered by his Excellency General Washington.⁴²

A detachment of five officers and eighty-five men had already moved ahead by boat to Philadelphia on August 7.⁴³ By the eleventh the full available complement of 263 men was encamped there.⁴⁴ Captain Smith remained behind, apparently to continue recruiting.⁴⁵

During a week's stop-over the regiment was armed and equipped from the Continental stores. Each man's equipment is known to have included "a gun and bayonet, cartouche box, napsack, haversack, . . . and canteen."⁴⁶ Six new horses were secured to replace those left behind in Wilmington.⁴⁷ Subsequent records indicate that some undisclosed items of "camp equipage" were also received.⁴⁸ The men were fortunate if these included an ample supply of tents and blankets, both of which were in very short supply.⁴⁹ It is probable that a supply of tools such as axes, shovels, etc. was also procured.

There is no evidence in the existing records that the Second Delaware Regiment was ever formally uniformed by either the State or the Board of War. Some units of the home militia are known to have been uniformed during the early years of the War, but this luxury seems to have been forgone during these later years. The State Clothier's preserved records indicate that considerable difficulty was being experienced during this period in keeping even the Continental Regiment supplied with the major items of clothing. The fact that some of Neill's recruits were known to have been given various odd items of clothing as part of their bounties would seem to indicate that no specific uniform was furnished the battalion.⁵⁰ It is probable that the men outfitted themselves, as best they could, with coarse cloth hunting-shirts and breeches or overalls which may or may not

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 364-65.

⁴³ *Delaware Archives*, II, 947.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 649.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 634, 636.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 682, 687.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 651.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 900; Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, XX (1937), 169.

⁴⁹ Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, XIX (1937), 399, 433.

⁵⁰ *Delaware Archives*, II, 662.

have been dyed a prescribed color. It is also possible that their hats might have been simply trimmed or bound with a specified color of ribbon to distinguish the unit from others. The officers of the regiment were, in all probability, able to supply themselves with at least some items of the conventional uniform, but the colors and other distinctions used by them are not known. The State appears to have supplied the necessary number of "standards, Drums, and Colours" for the battalion.⁵¹

After resuming its march from Philadelphia, the regiment was encamped on August 20 and 21 at Trenton, where an additional twenty men are known to have joined.⁵² On this latter date a three-day supply of beef and bread, with small quantities of rum and salt, were drawn. The march toward Headquarters was presumably started on August 22. On the remaining march through New Jersey the regiment is known to have drawn forage for its eighteen horses at Princeton on the twenty-third, and provisions for the men at Brunswick on the twenty-fourth and Springfield on the twenty-sixth.⁵³

From the record of provisions drawn during the march we find the average daily ration per man to be about one pound each of beef and bread, plus small quantities of beans and rice on one occasion during the first four days. Nothing but bread was supplied at Springfield, so it appears that they went entirely without meat or other food for the last two days of the hot march. Seven pounds of soap and less than five pints of rum were all of these items that were available for the entire complement during the journey.⁵⁴ It would seem from the foregoing that the regiment arrived at its destination not only tired and hungry, but also dirty and quite sober!

Virtually all of the meagre provisions provided the troops in New Jersey during this period came from supplies "impressed" from the farms and homes of the area. We find many expressions of regret, in the writings of Washington at this time, that the army has been forced to "alienate the populace" by becoming plunderers to exist."⁵⁵

After having marched a distance of approximately a hundred

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 962.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 649.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Fitzpatrick, XIX, 449 *et seq.*

miles since leaving Philadelphia, the Second Delaware Regiment appears to have reached General Washington's Headquarters at the "Liberty Pole Tavern" (Englewood) on Sunday, August 27.⁵⁶ The unit is recorded as having 279 men there on the twenty-eighth, or four less than the number present at Trenton on the twenty-first.⁵⁷ There is known to have been at least one desertion during the march.⁵⁸ The weary men were now to enjoy a two-day rest before moving on to their new post for permanent duty.

We might, at this point, digress briefly to keep abreast of the major military developments in the northern theatre since spring.

Rochambeau's troops together with the first division of the French fleet arrived at Providence, Rhode Island, on July 10. The effectiveness of these reinforcements was immediately curtailed, however, when Sir Henry Clinton promptly dispatched both land and sea forces from New York to blockade them.

Washington, unable to send direct aid to his beleaguered allies, chose the only course open to him, marshalled his available troops on the east side of the Hudson, and made ready to attack New York during the absence of part of its garrison. News of this threat was sufficient to bring Clinton hurrying back to maintain full defense of the city, thereby relieving the pressure on the French. Rochambeau, however, was under strict orders from his King to maintain constant connection between his land and sea forces. He could not, therefore, move south to join Washington until the second division of the fleet arrived to assure control of the waters about New York. Thus the stalemate was again resumed, with little prospect of its being broken by subsequent developments.

In mid-August a report to the Committee of Cooperation advised that the expected reinforcements of Continental troops were over 10,000 men short, and that "the number of Militia will fall as far short as the Continental troops"; that "in the article

⁵⁶ *Delaware Archives*, II, 649; Fitzpatrick, XIX, 461.

⁵⁷ *Delaware Archives*, II, 649.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 636.

provisions our prospects are equally unfavorable"; and "as to
age and transportation, our prospects are even worse."⁵⁹

In late August word was received that the second division
the French fleet had been effectively blockaded in Brest harbor
a British squadron. This unexpected development, plus the
present "extreme distress of our magazines," forced General
Washington to completely alter his proposed offensive strategy.
He promptly dismissed "all Militia . . . except such part as was
needed for immediate purposes," and advised the President of
Congress that he had "little hope of anything decisive in this
winter this Campaign."⁶⁰

In a letter to Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania he advised that
in this situation it will be only adding to our distress to bring
forward the men under your Excellency's command," but added
the following reference to the subject of this account:

The Delaware Militia being but a handful of men, and those armed
and accoutred by the public, I have thought it better to order them
forward, than, by countermanding them, run the risque of losing the
public stores which they have drawn.⁶¹

Thus by Washington's practical, albeit unflattering, reasoning
we find the little Delaware battalion to be one of the very
few militia units destined to continue in service in the north
during this trying period.

When they arrived at Headquarters they found the main
body of the army encamped nearby to "consume the forage
remaining in that neighborhood," and await further develop-
ments.⁶² This force of approximately 10,000 Continentals was
composed of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New
York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania regiments, plus a train of
service units.

Coincidental with the arrival of Neill's force came disquiet-
ing intelligence of some suspicious British troop and naval ac-
tivity at New York. General Washington and his staff, frankly
baffled as to the enemy's exact intentions, promptly alerted all
commands for a possible British move against northern New
Jersey or the vital Hudson River posts.

⁵⁹ Fitzpatrick, XIX, 391-93.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 462.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 462.

The American bastion at West Point, together with its dependencies, was a prize known to be greatly coveted by its former captor, Sir Henry Clinton. It was currently under the recently assigned command of Major General Benedict Arnold.⁶³ In the main fortifications there he had Colonel John Lamb's artillery, plus garrison troops composed of about 1,000 Massachusetts and New Hampshire militiamen. Detachments, with additional artillery, commanded by Colonel James Livingston guarded the important King's Ferry crossing ten miles below, and manned an observation post on Teller's Point six miles further down. Other outpost units in the immediate vicinity east of the Hudson, numbering about 1,500 men, included Connecticut and New York Militia plus Colonel Elisha Sheldon's Dragoons.⁶⁴ About eleven miles down-river from Teller's Point, and just outside Arnold's direct command, stood the newly-established American post at the old Dobbs Ferry crossing, destined to become the assigned post of duty for the Second Delaware Regiment throughout its entire remaining tour of active service. For this reason a brief account of recent developments there is in order.

Throughout the Revolution the name "Dobbs Ferry" was used somewhat loosely to designate any one of three locations: the entire crossing area, or either of its landings, only the eastern one of which bears that name today. There were, at one time or another earlier in the war, occupied military installations on both sides. However, in 1780 only the western terminus, known locally as "Sneden's Landing," was in firmly held American territory. This site is found today in the present village of Palisades, New York.

When planning the proposed campaign against New York City, Washington recognized the necessity of an additional protected crossing nearer than King's Ferry to the objective. He accordingly requested Major General Anthony Wayne and Army Geographer Robert Erskine to investigate the available sites. Their findings, submitted by Wayne in mid-July, reported very favorably on the Dobbs Ferry location; noted its convenience to the Army's nearby supply bases; recalled the effectiveness of a

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*; Lossing, *op. cit.*, I, 721.

small works" thrown up there for temporary protection in 1778; and recommended the erection of new batteries and blockhouses for the present purposes.⁶⁵

In less than two weeks after receipt of the Wayne-Erskine report, a new engineering battalion, "The Corps of Sappers and Miners," was organized. Its three companies of men were drawn by drafts and enlistments from the regular army, and placed under the command of the young French engineer, Lieutenant Colonel Jean Baptiste Gouvion.⁶⁶ By mid-August it was hard at work on the proposed fortifications above Sneden's Landing.⁶⁷

Wayne had suggested the possibility of placing a blockhouse and a battery among the hills on each side of the road leading down to the western landing, and noted a possible site for smaller works on the opposite shore. It is known from subsequent developments that the plan ultimately followed called for just a single blockhouse and battery to cover the western landing only.⁶⁸ No apparent effort was made to fortify the opposite landing just over a mile away in Westchester County. This latter area was a part of the historic "Neutral Ground," patrolled by both sides, firmly held by neither, and plundered at will by the notorious loyalist "Cowboys" and the rebel "Skinners."⁶⁹ The eastern landing was much closer to the British outpost at White Plains than it was to the nearest American one, Colonel Sheldon's headquarters at North Castle.

Washington, now with the army at nearby Tappan, undoubtedly kept in close touch with the progress of the work. A detachment of 150 Fourth New Yorkers and "a large fatigued party" of Second Rhode Islanders were temporarily assigned to

⁶⁵ Library of Congress, MS Collection, Papers of George Washington, Major General Anthony Wayne to Washington, July 18, 1780.

⁶⁶ Fitzpatrick, XIX, 312; Almon W. Lauber, ed., *The Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780, The Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783, with Diaries of Samuel Tallmadge, 1780-1782, and John Barr, 1779-1782* (Albany, 1932), p. 433 (hereafter referred to as *Orderly Books*); James S. [Plumb?] Martin, *A Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers, and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier* (Hallowell, Maine, 1830), pp. 140-41.

⁶⁷ *Orderly Books*, p. 875; Israel Angell, *Diary* (Providence, R. I., 1899), p. 105.

⁶⁸ Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁶⁹ Lossing, *op. cit.*, I, 753.

assist Gouvion's men.⁷⁰ The importance of the project is attested by the fact that "most of the Artillery belonging to the Army" was temporarily arrayed there to protect it.⁷¹ The hillside site was in plain view of the British gun-boats which constantly patrolled that section of the river. They made at least one attempt, in mid-August, to disrupt the work by firing "a Number of Canon . . . at our people from a brigg & a Galley."⁷² No damage was reported, and the fire from the covering battery of "Six Cannon & Hoitzers" apparently dissuaded them from further annoyances.

General Washington and the army remained at Tappan until August 23, when they again moved down into north New Jersey. The Continental fatigue detachments appear to have been recalled from Dobbs Ferry to march with their units, for, on that same date, Colonel William Malcolm's New York Militia Regiment was ordered down from Haverstraw to replace them.⁷³

We now return with the Commander-in-Chief to his new headquarters at the Liberty Pole Tavern and again pick up the story of the Delaware Regiment which, it will be recalled, arrived there on Sunday, August 27. Their timely arrival made it possible for Washington immediately to shift Malcolm's larger unit to Fort Schuyler at Albany to strengthen the northern frontier and remove "discontent" prevailing among the troops at that time there.⁷⁴ It thus became the Second Delaware Regiment's lot to fill the vacated garrison at Dobbs Ferry.

On Tuesday the twenty-ninth, two days rations were drawn for 269 men, some ten less than the number recorded the day before.⁷⁵ The regiment appears to have broken camp and made the ten-mile march to their new station the following day. On the thirty-first, 261 men were fed at Dobbs Ferry.⁷⁶ No explanation of these successive reductions in the complement is apparent from the existing records.

Upon their arrival, Colonel Neill and his men from the flatlands of Delaware must certainly have paused for at least one brief moment to enjoy their first view of the magnificent pano-

⁷⁰ *Orderly Books*, p. 875; Angell, *Diary*, p. 105.

⁷¹ Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁷² Angell, *Diary*, p. 105.

⁷³ Fitzpatrick, XIX, 430-31.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 458, 461.

⁷⁵ *Delaware Archives*, II, 649.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

ma that greeted them from the height above the great North River. It is not unlikely that they might also have observed that there were many worse spots for a soldier to find himself on late summer duty. However, any fleeting ideas of a pleasant journey on the Hudson were promptly dispelled by the urgent necessity for getting on with their assigned duties.

General Washington's formal orders to Lieutenant Colonel Neill have not been preserved. Fortunately, those issued to Colonel Malcolm less than a week previously, for the identical assignment, are known. Inasmuch as nothing happened during that brief interim to alter the requirements, it may be reasonably assumed that Neill's orders were virtually the same as those of his predecessor, which read:

When you arrive at Dobbe's ferry . . . your attention is to be directed to the security of the works and cannon at that place, and of the sick and stores left at this place. For these purposes you will make the best disposition in your power and use every precaution for gaining the earliest intelligence of a movement against you, and you will furnish whatever little guards may be necessary in proportion to your strength. You will assist Colonel Gouvion with the fatigue parties he may want.

There will be a part of the Park [artillery depot] on the road to Paramus from this place about five miles off, of which you will inform yourself; and in case of any motions of the Enemy, you will give notice to the Officer commanding the Guard to remove it toward Paramus.

You will give me instant advice of any movement of the Enemy. My quarters will be near the liberty Pole.

For your own security it will be necessary you should keep a party of observation at Niac [Nyack] and a guard at Slot [Piermont].⁷⁷

It seems apparent that the regiment was intended to operate as a more or less independent unit, subject to the direct orders of the Commander in Chief. Colonel Gouvion, the post commandant, was, of course, Neill's immediate local superior.

Immediately following the regiment's arrival at Dobbs Ferry, the activities of the enemy below increased to the point where Washington was impelled to re-alert the Hudson posts and order them put in "the most defensible state which is possible."⁷⁸ In view of this situation it is not difficult to picture the purposeful

⁷⁷ Fitzpatrick, XIX, 430-31.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 488.

initial activities of the troops as they became oriented to the area of duty, organized the encampment, and promptly set up the required garrison defense units, observation posts, patrols, and fatigue details. Under the circumstances it is not likely that they enjoyed much respite from duty during the early part of September. Being militiamen, their main task became, typically, that of supplying most of the manpower for the vital works construction.⁷⁹

We might digress briefly at this point to acquaint ourselves with the general plan of the new post then abuilding. The exact location and arrangement of its works have long been subjects of interesting controversy among local historians.⁸⁰ However, an objective analysis of the available evidence, including some reliable references newly discovered, seems clearly to indicate a site recommended by the Wayne-Erskine report, and marked, until very recently, by some surviving "ruins."

The hillside above the landing is a break, or pass, in the impregnable Palisades range that lines the western shore of the lower Hudson. This slope, traversed by the Sneden's Landing—Tappan road, rises westward at varying angles to an elevation about 200 feet above the river. The aforementioned site centers about a small cliff on the crest of the hill, about 200 yards north of the road, and about twice that distance northwest of the landing below. This area of the slope, although mostly wooded today, was open ground at the time in question. The nearest woods seem to have been a short distance back of the summit.⁸¹ The location thus afforded an unobstructed view of the entire crossing area and the adjacent sections of the river. The Wayne-Erskine report indicates that it had also been the site of the effective "little work thrown up in haste to cover the landing" in 1778.⁸²

⁷⁹ Pension File, W947, of Dennis Kelly, Revolutionary War (RG15A), National Archives and Record Service, Washington, D. C., microfilm in Hall of Records, Dover, Del. This file will hereafter be referred to as the Kelly Pension File.

⁸⁰ George H. Budke, "The History of the Block House at the Western End of Dobbs' Ferry, a Fortified Post in Old Orange County, New York," *The Rockland Record* (Nyack, N. Y., 1940), pp. 12-16.

⁸¹ Papers of George Washington, Lieutenant Colonel Wm. S. Smith to Washington, Dec. 12, 1782.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Wayne to Washington, July 18, 1780.

It is known with certainty that the main elements of the new post were "a strong blockhouse" with "a battery near it," and "a strong redoubt round it."⁸³ It is possible that this hub of the works was located at the above spot—the site of the remains of a field-stone parapet. These ruins clearly outlined an enclosure large enough to surround a blockhouse of the size required by the design of the post.⁸⁴ The east side of this redoubt, fronting on the cliff, showed evidence of being the site of cannon emplacements.⁸⁵ It is further known that, at some distance from these inner works, there was an abatis enclosing the whole post within a sizeable "compound of salient angles."⁸⁶ This perimeter defense seems to have encompassed a considerable part of the upper hillside as well as an area to the sides and rear of the summit.⁸⁷ A magazine and some type of quarters for the complement of the post also appear to have been constructed within the fortified area.⁸⁸

The post was designed to be normally manned by not more than "a Captain's command," to be reinforced when necessary by other troops.⁸⁹ General Washington, himself, observed that it never was calculated to withstand a serious attack," but that it was "supposed equal to any small party that might attack it by a Coup de Main."⁹⁰ As previously noted its primary purpose was to protect the landing and harass the enemy patrol and scout boats operating in that area of the river. Also, being the post most advanced toward the British position, it was a very significant patrol base and observation post. If and when the proposed

⁸³ *Orderly Books*, p. 836; Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁸⁴ Winthrop S. Gilman, *The Story of the Ferry* (Palisades, N.Y., 1903), p. 123 and plates opp. p. 123; Gilman, "Local History Notes," undated typescript (New York Historical Society).

⁸⁵ Budke, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 13.

⁸⁶ Papers of George Washington, Smith to Washington, Dec. 12, 1782.

⁸⁷ "Original Documents of Sir Henry Clinton's Secret Record of Private Daily Intelligence," *Magazine of American History*, XI (1884), 436. This interesting report is, unfortunately, of somewhat questionable reliability. It is definitely wrong in part, apparently correct in part, while the balance is open to question. Its proper correlation and interpretation require a rather involved explanation not germane to this account.

⁸⁸ Budke, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

⁸⁹ Fitzpatrick, XX, 130; Papers of George Washington, Major General William Heath to Washington, Feb. 24, 1781; Captain John Pray to Washington, June 29, 1781.

⁹⁰ Fitzpatrick, XXV (1938), 438.

offensive should be launched, the crossing would, of course, immediately become a key position of the most vital importance.⁹¹

At the time of the Delaware Regiment's arrival there was still another month's work to be done before the new fortifications were to be ready for full use.⁹² At the start of the project the required temporary protective installation seems to have been set up in some old earthworks that had been a part of the former works. These redoubts were located along the shelf about half way up the north slope.⁹³ It appears, then, that it was these works that the Delaware troops inherited. We have no knowledge of the size of the temporary battery at this particular time, or whether there were trained artillerymen there to operate it. As will be seen, it appears not to have been entirely adequate for its task. There is some likelihood that the army recalled most of the original six guns when it left the vicinity.

The regiment's local security force seems to have been organized into several encampments, placed throughout the immediate vicinity as outposts. One of these appears to have been located on the lower shelf of the hill south of the landing.⁹⁴ It is presumed, of course, that the observation posts at Nyack and Slote were promptly manned by detachments large enough to provide also the necessary continuous patrols for the area between. It is not known how far south of the ferry the regiment's sector extended.

The terrain adjacent to the river, throughout most of this area, was extremely rugged, and must have presented the soldiers strange to it with many difficulties in connection with their initial patrol activities. The battalion is known to have had at this time twenty-two horses which must have promptly become valued partners in the endeavor.⁹⁵ The countryside was sparsely populated, and, "the owners chiefly Caitiffs [Tories]," were probably not too cooperative.⁹⁶ One such was the well-known Sneden

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, XX, 59.

⁹² Papers of George Washington, Major General Nathanael Greene to Washington, Sept. 23, 1780.

⁹³ Budke, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

⁹⁴ Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

⁹⁵ *Delaware Archives*, II, 650.

⁹⁶ Papers of George Washington, Colonel Richard Varick to Colonel John Lamb, Sept. 13, 1780.

family, whose matriarch, the redoubtable Molly, is reputed to have once helped a British spy escape.⁹⁷ Unfortunately we have no knowledge of their relationship with the post during this particular period.

If the men of the Second Delaware Regiment had expected theirs to be the usual uneventful garrison tour, they were promptly disillusioned. They seem to have been exposed to a rather steady diet of unfriendly gunfire, from "the Enemy's Boats who come up almost daily and insult the post," during early September.⁹⁸ Obviously referring to these forays, a sergeant of the Corps of Sappers and Miners recorded that "we were frequently alarmed while lying at Dobb's ferry; being so few and at a distance from the main army, we had constantly to be on the lookout."⁹⁹ He also notes that, although the post was never actually assaulted by landing parties, "they very frequently made us believe we should."¹⁰⁰ It may be observed here that the few American guard boats in the area had not yet been organized into the effective "Water Guard" that was eventually set up to combat the marauders.¹⁰¹ There do not appear to have been any serious consequences from these incidents, although the frequent interruptions and some occasional damage might have slowed down the works construction somewhat. This was, as a matter of fact, probably all that the British really intended to accomplish.

As is well known, the lot of the Revolutionary troops was never an easy one, and that of the Dobbs Ferry soldier of 1780 was no exception. The sergeant further records for us that "that kind scarcity followed us here; and when we chanced to get any meat, we had no salt."¹⁰² The engineers' encampment must have been in the woods west of the summit, for he continues: "For a long time we had to go three fourths of a mile to the river to get water, which was somewhat salt, before we could cook our breakfasts." He then reiterates that "this was trifling, however,

⁹⁷ Cornelia A. Bedell, *Now and Then and Long Ago in Rockland County, New York* (Suffern, N. Y., 1941), pp. 141-43.

⁹⁸ Papers of George Washington, Varick to Lamb, Sept. 13, 1780.

⁹⁹ Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Budke, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁰² Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

compared with the trouble of having nothing to cook, which was too often the case with us." The one bright spot for their stomachs was that there was "a plenty of fruit to be had" from a "resource" that was "not so easily exhausted." This fortunate resource was probably some unfortunate "Caitiff's" orchard or larder. There was also an inexhaustible supply of "musketoes enough to take a pound of blood from us while we could make an ounce"—rough, perhaps, on some, but certainly nothing extraordinary to the Delawareans! Our chronicler finally observes that "we had some plague or other always to torment us," but concludes, philosophically: "Who is without?"

The provisions account of the Delaware Regiment shows that, during the first half of September, its men drew no rations at all on the ninth; were meatless twice again, and on part rations several other days.¹⁰³ Very small quantities of salt were available; beans and rice not at all. The daily pound of bread seems to have been generally available, but rum was nonexistent after the first week, and candles and soap almost so. The poor water supply situation seems to have been eventually corrected by the opening of a spring on the hill beside the road, and a well at the top of the hill.¹⁰⁴

During the first week of September there were at least seven desertions.¹⁰⁵ However, on Sunday the tenth, Captain George Smith arrived for duty with twenty-two new men.¹⁰⁶ It will be recalled that he had been left in Wilmington, apparently to complete the recruiting program.

On Monday, September 11, the post became the actual scene of a singularly dramatic episode, one that became historically significant, not because of what did happen, but rather because of what did not.

The soldiers on duty at the Nyack observation post were probably the first to notice a multi-oared barge, carrying a single passenger, as it made its way down-river during the morning of that hot September day. Although obviously American, it

¹⁰³ *Delaware Archives*, II, 649.

¹⁰⁴ Budke, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁵ *Delaware Archives*, II, 636.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

as not likely to have been recognized in greater detail by the new men from Delaware who were seeing it for the first time. Its steady progress must have been followed with friendly interest by any adjoining patrols that might have sighted it further along the way, but it is not known whether word of its presence and heading were sent ahead to the main post.

As the barge neared Slote, on a heading toward the eastern ferry landing area, it was also observed by some unfriendly eyes aboard several enemy gunboats aprowl in the vicinity.¹⁰⁷ They promptly gave chase and turned it back toward the western shore. Although closely pursued and fired upon several times, "narrowly escaped" to the welcome shelter of the post's landing, undoubtedly protected during the final stage of its run by some hastily thrown covering fire from the works on the height above.

It is not known just when the Dobbs Ferry observers first recognized the barge and its occupant. In any event, we may be certain that, when Major General Benedict Arnold finally stepped ashore, he was greeted with appropriate solicitude by his surprised and anxious hosts. We may be equally certain that they would have been much more surprised and much less solicitous if they had had even the remotest idea of the original destination and purpose of his trip! They knew, of course, only what he chose to tell them—and no more: that he had come down to establish liaison with the new post. Following a lunch that must logically have included a spot of rum for the jangled nerves of all concerned, he undoubtedly conferred at length with the senior officers and thoroughly inspected the works construction. It appears certain that he was impressed by the need for more cannon there, and promised, with clever duplicity of purpose, to see what he could do about supplying it from West Point. Sometime during the afternoon he dispatched a letter to General Washington—a letter that has come to be known as a masterpiece of calculated deception, typical of his consummate skill at masking his sinister actions with a cloak of proper purpose. Obviously

¹⁰⁷ Carl Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1941), pp. 309-10, 472; James T. Flexner, *The Traitor and the Spy* (New York, 1953), pp. 330-31; Joshua H. Smith, *An Authentic Narrative of the Causes Which led to the Death of Major André* (New York, 1808), p. 101.

feeling the need to explain his rather unorthodox trip, he wrote with careful circumspection that "I came here this morning in order to establish signals to be observed in case the enemy came up the river, to give some directions respecting the guard boats, and to have a beacon fixed upon the mountain. . . ." To clinch the purity of his motives, and help serve his own purposes, too, he reported that "there are some cannon at West Point, which are of little service, except as signal guns. I propose sending two of them to Colonel Gouvion, for that purpose if agreeable to your Excellency."¹⁰⁸

After having accomplished his apparent mission, Arnold departed the post under cover of the first dark. As he rode back up river, alone with his thoughts, he must have been seething with anger and frustration born of a particularly ironical turn of events. The accomplishment of his all-important secret mission had been balked by a few zealous British sailors who were obviously not privy to some very top level arrangements.

There had been at Dobbs Ferry that day two other soldiers who did know of that mission and those arrangements. But they were not American soldiers, and they were not on the western side of the river. One of them was Major John André, adjutant general of the British army; and the other was Colonel Beverley Robinson, the loyalist refugee, in whose confiscated home General Arnold was presently living. They had waited impatiently all afternoon at a secluded spot near the eastern landing site, having come there for a noon appointment with the American general that was to have been the first face-to-face meeting between Arnold and André since the start of their secret correspondence over a year ago.¹⁰⁹ At that meeting they were to have discussed, if the price was right, the preliminary arrangements for the betrayal of West Point. It appears that the Britishers, by arriving somewhat late, had no knowledge of the action that kept their co-conspirator from them. Perplexed at this failure, they too abandoned the mission at dusk and returned overland to their own lines.

As might be imagined, there has been considerable con-

¹⁰⁸ Jared Sparks, ed., *Correspondence of the American Revolution: Being Letters of Eminent Men to George Washington* (Boston, 1853), III, 81.

¹⁰⁹ Van Doren, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

picture about certain intriguing aspects of this episode. Not being within the scope of this account, these matters will be left to others. In passing, however, one able historian has observed that "when his strong-armed oarsmen pulled him to safety, Benedict Arnold lost his chance to die a hero." We might similarly observe that when these same oarsmen later pulled him away from the dock at the post, the men of the Second Delaware Regiment lost their chance to catch a traitor—if they had only known!

Sometime during the week of September 11 Colonel Gouvion received orders to accompany General Washington on a mission of the utmost importance: to Hartford for a strategy conference with the French Admiral Ternay and General Rochambeau. The command of the army during its chief's absence devolved upon Major General Nathanael Greene, but the interim command assignment at Dobbs Ferry after the seventeenth remains clouded in uncertainty.

In his instructions of the sixteenth to Greene, Washington advised him to "attend to the post at Dobbes ferry, and take such precautions for its safety as you adjudge necessary."¹¹⁰ He added further that, "as Lt. Col. Gouvion accompanies me, a Continental Officer should be appointed to the Command. There is now a Lt. Col. of Militia there." It is apparent from this latter reference that Lieutenant Colonel Neill, as second ranking officer at the post, automatically assumed temporary command, unless or until he was superseded by another on General Greene's orders. While it seems somewhat unlikely that Greene would not follow such a definite suggestion, nothing whatever can be found to indicate that he did. Subsequent General orders, correspondence, and other relevant records for the period in question show no references to a command change at Dobbs Ferry.

A highly probable answer to the question may be found in certain circumstantial evidence. Following Washington's departure General Greene moved the army and his own headquarters back up to Tappan. It is entirely possible that, after investigating the situation, he felt that the post would be better

¹¹⁰ Fitzpatrick, XX, 58.

left in the now familiar hands of Colonel Neill than placed in those of another strange to the assignment. Supporting this likelihood is the fact that Washington, by taking along a large party of command-rank officers, undoubtedly left Greene with a number of replacement problems and a shortage of qualified men to fill them. Also, with his own headquarters so near the post, it would be an easy matter for a member of his staff to maintain close contact with the situation there and be ready to take control if necessary.

On Sunday, September 17, the Commander in Chief and his entourage crossed the river at King's Ferry on the first leg of the trip to Hartford. On that same day General Greene issued orders to all units, noting that word of Washington's absence "may reach the enemy and encourage them to make some move in consequence thereof." He therefore directed "the officers of all ranks to be in perfect readiness to meet them on short notice, and recommends to the outguards to be very Vigilant and attentive, and the patrols active and watchful."¹¹¹

These orders must have taken on a special significance to the soldiers at Dobbs Ferry when the first light of day revealed the famed enemy sloop-of-war "Vulture" riding ominously at anchor just a half mile away.¹¹² We have no details of any engagement with her on this occasion, but it is known that she left her anchorage there at 8:00 a. m. and sailed up river to a position just below Teller's Point. With her were her "many" armed patrol boats that remained extremely active throughout the Tappan Sea area "constantly crossing" the river on their scouting forays.¹¹³

Happily, all of this activity turned out to have no connection with any attempt to exploit Washington's absence—but it was no fault of Benedict Arnold's that it did not. He had promptly dispatched a coded advice to the enemy on the fifteenth as soon as he had been notified of the General's plans.¹¹⁴ Delivery of

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

¹¹² The Logbook of "H. M. S. Vulture," Public Records Office, London, England, No. 1565, Adm. 51/1004, entry Sept. 11, 1780. Microfilm in possession of author.

¹¹³ The Sebastian Bauman Letters, MS Collection of the New York Historical Society, Bauman to Lamb, Sept. 18, 1780.

¹¹⁴ Van Doren, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

the cipher was fortunately delayed and it was received too late to be of value to the British.

The presence of the "Vulture" in the area did, nevertheless, affect some other plans directly related to the Dobbs Ferry post. Arnold, after receiving Washington's approval, followed through with his plan to transfer the previously mentioned cannon. On the seventeenth he ordered that "two Nine Pounders on Stocked Carriages be immediately sent to Dobb's Ferry . . . with a party from the artillery." He further specified that they were "to be furnished with all necessary apparatus and each piece Fifty Pound, and Twenty Five Grape Shot, and an equal number of solid cartridges."¹¹⁵ The consignment was loaded aboard a sloop and started down river next day. Upon reaching Stony Point the officer in charge learned of the presence of the "Vulture" and her patrol below. He thereupon halted, advised his superior that he "thought it unsafe to proceed any further," and requested further orders.¹¹⁶

This development must have pleased the scheming Arnold very much, because it is apparent that his true purpose in sending the guns to the ferry post was to deplete the armament at West Point. Now, to have them neutralized completely by delay of route was too good to be true.

The enemy boats continued to set up an effective blockade so that "everything destined to the army coming down the river was obliged to be landed" at Stony Point.¹¹⁷ The final destiny of the cannon remains an interesting mystery; the last that is definitely known of them is that they were still being held there three days later, with a number of factors indicating still further delay. In any event, there is no indication that they were ever delivered at the Dobbs Ferry post during the Delaware regiment's duty there.

Returning now to the post during the third week in September we find that, as a result of the increased naval activity in the area, the prevailing attitude must have been one of mounting caution and concern for what was coming next. Since the blockhouse, although rapidly nearing completion, was not yet

¹¹⁵ Bauman Letters, Lamb to Bauman, Sept. 17, 1780.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Bauman to Lamb, Sept. 18, 1780.

¹¹⁷ Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

an effective, usable fortification, the work on it was undoubtedly spurred by the developments.¹¹⁸

The apprehension was considerably increased on Tuesday the nineteenth, when the "Vulture" and her flotilla were joined by a second armed sloop, the "Ranger," which remained on patrol in the area through Wednesday.¹¹⁹ It appears that it was during this period of high tension that another incident involving the Dobbs Ferry garrison in direct contact with the British occurred.

A more or less unorganized American water patrol, using a number of the available small craft of local watermen, was helping to counteract the increasing enemy patrol activity at this time. One of these boats, while on night guard duty near the western shore some distance below the post, became involved in a running fight with a similar British craft. They kept up "a constant fire" on each other during their maneuvers, which eventually brought them within range of "a few troops" in a ferry post sentry encampment near the river bank. The supporting fire from these soldiers caused the Britishers to break off the engagement and retire down river.¹²⁰

This little engagement is significant mainly because it was responsible for the only known fatality from direct enemy action at the Dobbs Ferry post while the Second Delaware Regiment was stationed there. A witness has recorded that one American "received a musket ball directly in the middle of his forehead which passed out behind his head." He further notes that "this was done about eleven o'clock at night," and that the poor fellow miraculously remained alive until about ten the next morning.¹²¹

Our narrator, unfortunately, does not make it clear whether this casualty was a member of the boat crew or one of the soldiers. The only preserved regimental "list of casualties" records, oddly enough, only desertions and discharges, and makes no references whatever to losses by injury or death if any were, in fact, suffered by the Delawareans.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Papers of George Washington, Greene to Washington, Sept. 23, 1780.

¹¹⁹ "Vulture" Log, entry Sept. 19, 20, 1780.

¹²⁰ Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹²² *Delaware Archives*, II, 636.

On Friday, September 22, the dawn over the lower Hudson generally "came up like thunder." At 5:00 a. m. every sleeping soldier from Dobbs Ferry to King's Ferry must have been jarred all awake by the first angry salvos of a "heavy cannonade" that reverberated for miles through the still river valley from the rebel artillery on Teller's Point.¹²³ As the firing continued madly for over an hour and a half it must certainly have brought on a general state of alarm at every post within earshot—least until the true cause of it all became known.

The "Vulture," by remaining brazenly at anchor hard by the sector, had become a source of increasing irritation to Colonel James Livingston. Determined to do something about it, he acquired some artillery on September 21, moved it into position at the point during the night, and opened up with "shot and shell" at first light. The surprised enemy crew, with their ship calmed on a slack tide, returned the fire until they were able to get boats overboard and tow her out of range—but not until after she had suffered considerable damage to hull, rigging, and crew. The "Vulture" then retreated to a new and safer position about two miles below Teller's Point and dropped anchor there at 8:30 a. m.¹²⁴

Although this episode was heard by countless numbers, it had but a handful of actual witnesses beyond the soldiers and sailors directly involved. Two of these witnesses, both destined to be catastrophically affected by this seemingly minor turn of events were Major General Benedict Arnold and Major John André. They were, at that very moment, in the midst of their long awaited first—and last—meeting.

The young British adjutant general had altered their original plans for another try at contact near Dobbs Ferry on Tuesday morning instead on up to the ship. After cleverly finding a way to let Arnold know that he was aboard, he was finally taken and rowed ashore by the traitor's hirelings at about one o'clock in the morning of that fateful Friday. Arnold, incidentally, had left his headquarters on Thursday under pretext of going down to check on the delay in delivery of the cannon

¹²³ "Vulture" Log, entry Sept. 22, 1780; Van Doren, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

to Dobbs Ferry.¹²⁵ They met and conferred during the early morning darkness at a secluded spot near the Clove. Unable to conclude their arrangements before dawn, they took refuge from prying eyes at the home of Arnold's solicitous but unknowing accomplice, Joshua Smith, near Haverstraw. It was from here that they heard the firing and watched with dismay as the "Vulture" was forced to withdraw from their vision.¹²⁶

This unforeseen development has come to be regarded, in retrospect, as the trigger of a chain of events that was to bring the now blossoming conspiracy to its dramatic climax. It was responsible for the fateful decision to forgo Major André's planned return to the "Vulture" and to return him instead by the overland route that led to his capture near Tarrytown the next morning. This, in turn, led to the ultimate exposure of the entire plot. The intriguing details of these developments, being only incidental to our narrative, will be left to the reliable reports of the several well-known authorities on the subject.

That Friday seems to have been a day of surprises for the men of Dobbs Ferry. At some later hour the post was given an unscheduled inspection by a top level mission which included the Minister of France, Luzerne, who was traveling incognito on his way to join his forces in Rhode Island.¹²⁷

General Greene was obviously well satisfied with the progress and quality of the work at the post, because he promptly reported to Washington that "the block house goes on very well and will be complete in four or five days, and I think will be a very strong place." This same report provides continuing evidence of the appalling shortages that by now were standard for all of the soldiery in the area. There was no rum at all, and Greene had been "obliged to make a seizure of some from the sutlers and followers of the Army." There was also "but one days provisions on hand" and all that was expected "was not more than sufficient for four days."¹²⁸

It seems quite clear from this that the lot of the Second Delaware militiaman had not improved much of late. It was,

¹²⁵ Papers of George Washington, Varick Report, CLII.

¹²⁶ Van Doren, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-35.

¹²⁷ Papers of George Washington, Greene to Washington, Sept. 23, 1780.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

short, still one of hard work under demanding pressure in a state of almost constant tension—the men all the while subsisting on a bare minimum of food and creature comforts, but managing to get the job done “very well.” Quite a contrast with the recent record of another nearby soldier who was also doing his self-assigned job “very well” indeed.

The continuing presence of the “Vulture” in the upper Appan Sea over the weekend insured the maintenance of a general state of alarm at all of the river posts. This condition was heightened even more on Sunday afternoon when the sloop “Langer” sailed up again to join its partner and anchored near-¹²⁹ It is likely that the rebel officers and men speculated at length on the probable reasons for all this increased activity. It is certain, however, that even their wildest guess did not even come close to the true reason why the British hung around anxiously awaiting some word or sign from their missing adjutant general.

Although André was captured early Saturday morning, it was Monday afternoon before evidence of Arnold’s involvement reached anyone in a position to recognize the truth beyond question of a doubt. By a fortunate coincidence General Washington and his party, enroute from the Hartford conference, stopped off for an inspection of West Point that day. While there he received the incriminating dispatch from André’s cousin, and was thus able to take personal charge in the emergency created by the shocking discovery—too late by several hours, however, to prevent the traitorous Arnold’s escape to the safety of the “Vulture” after he had been unwittingly tipped off to his fellow conspirator’s fate.¹³⁰

Washington, having noted the dangerously neglected condition of the West Point works, and alert to the possibility of imminent attack, set in motion emergency defensive measures, alerted militiamen that Arnold had craftily dispersed, and ordered up the dependency commands.¹³¹ He sent Colonel Gougeon, still with him, to Fishkill to bring in Joshua Smith, and ordered André to be brought to the Point under heavy guard. Even that evening he sent intelligence to General Greene:

¹²⁹ “Vulture” Log, entry Sept. 24, 1780.

¹³⁰ Van Doren, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-46.

¹³¹ Fitzpatrick, XX, 83-88.

at Tappan, ordered a division of Continentals from there to King's Ferry, with the remainder of the Army to be held in a state of instant readiness. It was almost midnight before these orders were received and executed at army headquarters by officers who were dumbfounded by the news.¹⁸²

We have no knowledge of just how soon after this that the first word of these developments reached Colonel Neill at Dobbs Ferry, but it certainly could not have been delayed very long. It is, however, interesting to note at this point that there is some evidence that, for some reason, the actual fact of Arnold's treason may not have been announced to the enlisted men there until sometime on Wednesday, September 27.¹⁸³

Even though they might not have known why, the men at Dobbs Ferry certainly knew on that frantic Tuesday that a dire emergency did exist if the orders received there that day were similar to those known to have been sent to other installations alerting them to prepare for any "enterprise" which "the enemy may have it in contemplation to attempt . . . against these posts."¹⁸⁴

It is also possible that there may have been some special orders sent down there dealing with measures to delay or intercept the "Vulture" if she should move down river with her "precious cargo"—which is just what she did when wind and tide became favorable in mid-afternoon. An eyewitness account records that sometime that evening, "There were several shots discharged at her as she passed the block-house, but she went by without paying us much attention," and sailed on to deliver Arnold to the safety of enemy-held New York later that night.¹⁸⁵

The emergency brought several command changes at area posts, but no references to any at Dobbs Ferry are evident. It is noteworthy that Colonel Gouvion was held at West Point for an indefinite period to "assist with the necessary arrangements there."¹⁸⁶ These facts seem to indicate that the command at the ferry post was still considered equal to the demands of the crisis at hand.

¹⁸² Van Doren, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-53.

¹⁸³ Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

¹⁸⁴ Fitzpatrick, XX, 85.

¹⁸⁵ Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 147; "Vulture" Log, entry Sept. 26, 1780.

¹⁸⁶ Fitzpatrick, XX, 98-99.

It seems likely that Colonel Neill's most pressing problem at the moment was the present state of his defensive works. As previously noted, the blockhouse project was, at this time, still not entirely completed. However, the new emergency spurred the work of the Delaware militiamen, who labored mightily and finished the structure and its redoubt before the week was out.¹³⁷

Throughout Wednesday, September 27, defensive measures in the area continued at a feverish pace. Typical of the orders issued on that date were instructions to "have the works supplied with ten days provision, wood, water, and stores . . . and take every other precaution for the security of the post." It seems likely that Colonel Neill, in his advanced and strategic position, must have been among those notified to "do everything in your power to gain information of the enemy's designs" and to pass along "intelligence, as early as possible, of any movement against you."¹³⁸

By Thursday Brigadier General William Irvine's Second Pennsylvania Brigade had arrived at West Point, and Major General Alexander McDougall had been given temporary command there. Having consolidated the defenses there as well as possible under the circumstances, General Washington moved that day down to the headquarters at Tappan.

He also ordered the removal of Major André, who was taken that same day by barge to Stony Point, then overland with a heavy escort of dragoons to his last imprisonment at Mable's Tavern in Tappan.¹³⁹ His captors, knowing of the high esteem in which he was held by General Clinton, never discounted for a moment the possibility of a sudden, daring attempt to rescue him.¹⁴⁰ Every possible measure was taken for his security, and the patrols in the nearby ferry post sector must have been specially alerted to watch for nocturnal landing parties or other suspicious activity along the river front.

Washington lost no time in appointing a board of inquiry for the trial of the hapless enemy agent. On Friday the historic court, composed of fourteen general officers presided over by Nathanael Greene, convened in the old Dutch church. These

¹³⁷ *Orderly Books*, p. 836.

¹³⁸ Fitzpatrick, XX, 98-99.

¹³⁹ Van Doren, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

¹⁴⁰ Flexner, *op. cit.*, pp. 362, 376.

proceedings, plus those extremely dramatic events connected with the verdict, so dominated the activities in the area that virtually nothing else of interest is reported in the preserved records of the next several days.

The interesting details of the testimony are irrelevant to our narrative, but it might be noted that the grim verdict, dictated in the main by André's own candid admissions, did not reflect the personal feelings of his judges—or indeed most other soldiers and civilians alike. His great personal charm and courage had quickly earned for him widespread sympathy, in contrast with the instant wave of loathing that was universally felt for his co-conspirator.¹⁴¹

Following his confirmation of the verdict, General Washington ordered the execution to take place at 5:00 p. m. the following day, Sunday, October 1.¹⁴² Plans to carry out the sentence were immediately expedited and had a profound effect on the already electric atmosphere prevailing throughout the vicinity. Before it was over our Delawareans were destined to have a part in all of the final episodes of the grim drama.

Immediately upon learning of Major André's capture, General Clinton began a series of desperate communications with the Americans appealing for André's release on the basis of certain questionable technicalities.¹⁴³ These efforts were countered by an "unofficial" offer to consider exchanging him for Arnold. The post at Dobbs Ferry first became involved in this by-play on the day of the trial when a British vessel flying a flag of truce approached the landing and, after permission was granted, disembarked a servant bearing fresh clothes and "a number of things" for André—and also, it may be supposed, another plea to his captors.¹⁴⁴

By Sunday morning these secretive negotiations had reached such a state that General Washington felt impelled to permit a conference on the matter, which, as things developed, turned out to be held at the convenient little river post.

The British schooner "Greyhound" had left New York early that morning with the chief enemy negotiator, Lieutenant

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

¹⁴² Fitzpatrick, XX, 110.

¹⁴³ Van Doren, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-68.

¹⁴⁴ Angell, *Diary*, p. 126.

General James Robertson, and his party of other high officials aboard. They embarked, however, with nothing more certain than a hope that a meeting might be allowed. The vessel came to anchor off the ferry landing at about mid-afternoon, and an officer was promptly sent ashore to inquire if there was any message from the rebel headquarters. He was received by an unnamed officer who informed him that General Greene would arrive presently to receive Robertson alone as a "private individual," but would not permit any others of his party even to accompany him. The Englishman acceded to these arrangements and a long solitary conference ensued. Also present at the time was Alexander Hamilton, then Washington's aide, who talked apart from the principals with the British aide. Sometime that evening the meeting ended inconclusively with Greene's promise to inform Washington of what had passed."¹⁴⁵

There is, of course, abundant interesting detail of the discussions to be found, but there do not appear to be any eyewitness records of the related activities at the post that are of interest to this account. It is probable that, aside from an increase in the guard duty for the day, the most interesting activity was the buzz of conversation and conjecture about what was going on.

The "Greyhound" lay overnight at her mooring so that her delegation could await the final reply from General Washington, who, because of the lengthy conference, had seen fit to grant a last-minute postponement of the execution until Monday noon.¹⁴⁶

In his Sunday evening orders the Commander in Chief prescribed that there should be a "Battalion of Eighty files from each wing to attend the Execution" as a guard.¹⁴⁷ Inasmuch as the term "file" seems to have meant two men in this instance, the total complement of the unit appears to have been 320 men. They were presumably selected on a pro-rata basis from each regiment then stationed in the theater. We have no knowledge how many of Neill's regiment were picked for this duty. The number was certainly very small, but there were undoubtedly more than the lone private, one Dennis Kelly, who is the only

¹⁴⁵ Van Doren, *op. cit.*, pp. 368-69.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 369; Fitzpatrick, XX, 111.

¹⁴⁷ Fitzpatrick, XX, 111.

Second Delaware militiaman recorded as having served in this special unit.¹⁴⁸

The stage for the climax of the drama was irrevocably set when, on Monday morning, our people at Dobbs Ferry saw a messenger deliver to the British a final denial of their appeal. After Robinson had penned one last reply, the "Greyhound" sailed off with her passengers, apparently unmindful that, at about that very moment, their friend was meeting his fate.¹⁴⁹

In keeping with the military custom of the day executions of spies were generally elaborate public spectacles, and this one was to be a classic example. It was, of course, a tragic, yet truly dramatic event that was witnessed by an "immense multitude." It seems, indeed, that every civilian and off-duty soldier for miles around was there. Because it has been so vividly described, in varying degrees of accuracy, by so many, we will report only the more pertinent aspects here.¹⁵⁰

At about eleven-thirty the condemned officer, dressed in full uniform and flanked by two escorts, marched to the center of a formation drawn up outside his prison. At the head were General Greene and a large contingent of senior officers; the Commander in Chief chose to remain in his nearby headquarters. To the rear was a "captain's command" of enlisted men. To the accompaniment of fifes and drums the procession marched, between single lines of the guard battalion on each side of the road, to a hill close by the northwest edge of the village.

André betrayed no emotion until he sighted the gallows and recoiled momentarily at the sudden realization that his request to be shot had been denied. He quickly composed himself, lamenting only the "mode" of his fate. The great grim crowd at the site was held back by the soldiers of the guard, who formed a large open square about the gibbet. The prisoner, now obviously restless, was led to a wagon on which rested a coffin positioned beneath the noose. He mounted to the lid of the box, assisted the hangman with the final preparations, and heard the sentence read. After an emotion-charged pause in which he bade

¹⁴⁸ Kelly Pension File.

¹⁴⁹ Van Doren, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-70.

¹⁵⁰ Lossing, *op. cit.*, I, 771-73; Winthrop Sargent, *The Life and Career of Major André* (Boston, 1861), pp. 392-99; Freeman, *op. cit.*, V, 221.

present to "bear witness that I die like a brave man," the casket moved quickly from beneath him.

Many in the throng were moved to open tears, and a wave of audible laments broke the shocked silence as death came swiftly after a few violent swings. The guard was shortly withdrawn, and the morbidly curious were permitted to view the corpse before it was buried at the site without further ceremony. A Massachusetts soldier who wrote graphically of the event acknowledged that he "returned to my tent with my mind deeply imbued with the shocking scene I had been called to witness."¹⁵¹ We may be sure that Dennis Kelly and any others of his Delaware brothers-in-arms present that day must have experienced a similar reaction. They probably also agreed to the fullest with General von Steuben's apt reflection: "Would God that the wretch who drew him to his death could have offered in his place."¹⁵²

The end of the "affair of treason" also brought about the completion of the otherwise "inactive campaign" of the Northern Army in 1780. Contrary to Washington's expectation, the discovery of the plot had caused instant abandonment of Clinton's projected Hudson River offensive.¹⁵³ However, the continuance of suspicious naval and troop activity at New York caused the rebel commander to maintain his defensive alert and abandon for good his own plans to "operate against New York in his campaign."¹⁵⁴

While the General pondered his great problems during that last week of October, our Delaware men were by now undoubtedly equally concerned with their own. Having just completed their main task, and knowing that their "time" had not so long to run, it is easy to guess what their most pressing problem was. They were not to have long to wait for the answer. At the end of the week General Washington consolidated his defenses by moving four Continental brigades to West Point under Greene, and subsequently dismissing the large New

¹⁵¹ Sargent, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

¹⁵² Willard M. Wallace, *Traitorous Hero: The Life and Fortunes of Benedict Arnold* (New York, 1954), p. 256.

¹⁵³ William B. Wilcox, ed., *The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of his Campaigns, 1775-1782* (New Haven, 1954), p. 220.

¹⁵⁴ Fitzpatrick, XX, 132.

Hampshire and Massachusetts militia regiments for the winter.¹⁵⁵ At the same time he sent Colonel Gouvion's little corps to help with the repairs at the Point, and ordered a detachment from the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment to "garrison the works at Dobbs Ferry."¹⁵⁶

At sunrise on Saturday, October 7—a calm, cold, rainy morning, the New England regulars marched into the little ferry post and the Second Delaware militiamen marched out.¹⁵⁷ It is interesting to wonder if they, at that moment, agreed with the engineer-sergeant who "left this place with regret. . . ."¹⁵⁸ They hiked immediately to the headquarters at Tappan, where they joined the main army, which had already broken camp for a march to a new station in New Jersey—an urgent move to find new sources of provision and forage, having "exhausted" the supplies thereabouts.¹⁵⁹

The ensuing first day's travel was, in Washington's own words, "a cold wet, and tedious march on account of the feeble condition of our cattle," which were driven along with the column.¹⁶⁰ He also regretted that there was "not a drop of rum to give the troops."¹⁶¹ After covering over twenty miles the regiment made its camp that night near Totoway, not far from the new headquarters site.¹⁶² They were held there for several days, apparently for another typical militia assignment, to help with the setting up of the new encampment of the regulars.¹⁶³ On Thursday, October 12, Colonel Neill received the following communication from the Commander in Chief:

Sir, As there is no immediate occasion for the further services of your Reg't of Militia with the Army, it may Commence its Return to the State of Delaware as soon as all the Arms, Accoutrements and Camp Equipage drawn from the Public are returned to the Commissary of Military Stores, and Quarter Master at Camp.

You will then apply to the Quarter Master General for Tools necessary to repair the roads from hence to Trentown and receive his instructions on the subject—As you will give your own Receipt for the tools you

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 128.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

¹⁵⁹ Fitzpatrick, XX, 133.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *Delaware Archives*, II, 650.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

be pleased to see them delivered to the Quarter Master at Trenton and take his Receipt for the same—Any Arms, Accoutrements &c which may have been carried off by the sick or Deserted you will use your own endeavours to have recovered and returned to the Public Stores.

After the before mentioned service is performed the Regiment is to be discharged, and I have nothing further to add but to request that my thanks may be communicated to them for the Alacrity and spirit with which they took the Field, and for their orderly and Soldier like behaviour while in service. I am Sir with Great Regard your most Obedt Servt.¹⁶⁴

After laying over for two more days to complete the required equipment returns, the regiment departed on the next leg of its march—this one in easy stages with overnight stops at Rocky Hill Bridge and Troytown before reaching Morristown on October 18.¹⁶⁵ Here, the next day, the men of the Second Delaware Regiment received what must have been a great surprise when they were issued the largest ration of rum received during the entire tour—some 1920 gills for 256 men, just a little less than a quart per man—and on the very eve of discharge!¹⁶⁶ The party must have been monumental, because there is no further indication of their whereabouts until they turn up—all 256 of them—in Philadelphia on the twenty-second.¹⁶⁷ They must have come through Trenton in fairly good shape for it was subsequently recorded that after “strictly and honestly complying with every requisition contained in [Washington’s] Orders the Regiment was discharged” from Federal service.¹⁶⁸ It drew its last recorded rations on that day, a pound each of beef and bread per man—and no more rum.¹⁶⁹

There is no further apparent record of the Second Delaware Regiment as a unit. It may be presumed that its men promptly returned to Delaware and set about the usual business of disbanding before the expiration of their enlistment on Friday, November 3, after three months and twenty-three days of duty. But, for various reasons, they might find it not easy to forget.¹⁷⁰ It seems, however, that their services might have been too

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 900; Fitzpatrick, XX, 169-70.

¹⁶⁵ *Delaware Archives*, II, 650.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 900.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 641, 644.

easily forgotten by some others, those charged with paying them for their duty. To unravel this aspect completely might require another full-scale research project, but a brief examination of the evidence close at hand suggests some interesting conclusions for the present.

It appears that the men of the Second Delaware Militia were to have been paid by the State upon completion of their tour. The State in turn was to have been reimbursed by the Federal government upon fulfillment of certain requirements.¹⁷¹ Since the fiscal situation on both quarters was, to say the least, chaotic at this time, there was delay—for some, long years of it.

The officers, all of whom paid their own and some of the regimental expense, had to petition the legislature for both their pay and these advances.¹⁷² It is not readily apparent just when, if ever, they were fully reimbursed, but there was still some money due them as late as 1785.¹⁷³ As for some of the enlisted men, a number appear to have gone unpaid for even longer, some for almost thirteen years!¹⁷⁴ These men were due, incidentally, a total of about £9½ or just “23 and 10/100ths Dollars” for the full term of service.¹⁷⁵

In the light of all this we might well conclude this narrative with the apt and candid tribute paid all militia by another chronicler:

Its men have to be admired, if they are admired, not because they were good or bad soldiers, but rather because they were soldiers at all. The system was untidy, inefficient, and triumphant, a vital factor in the victory.¹⁷⁶



¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 671.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 900-1.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 671.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 697.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 638-44.

¹⁷⁶ Herbert T. Wade and Robert A. Lively, *This Glorious Cause: The Adventures of Two Company Officers in Washington's Army* (Princeton, 1958), p. 153.

ROSTER OF THE KNOWN ENLISTED PERSONNEL
SECOND DELAWARE REGIMENT OF MILITIA

Aaron, James	Caskey, Robert
Addison, Jacob	Chambers, John
Anderson, Herdman	Channing, James
Aydelott, Levin	Chenning, John
Ayres, John	Cochran, Daniel
Baker, George	Collins, Shepard
Banks, Samuel	Collins, Soloman
Barber, John	Collins, Stephen
Barnet, George	Collins, William
Basford, William	Connelly, Patrick
Bell, Cato	Conner, Derby
Belveal, Cornelius	Conwell, William
Belveal, William	Cooper, John
Bennet, William	Corker, Timothy
Benston, Lemuel	Correy, Benjamin
Berry, James	Coulter, Corbin
Bloom, Peter	Coulter, John
Bradford, Nathaniel	Coulter, William
Brady, John	Craig, Robert
Breezey, John	Crossan, Andrew
Brouster, Thomas	Cruzen, Peter
Brumbly, Major	Cummings, Joshua
Buckson, James	Cunningham, Andrew
Burns, John	
Byrns, Darius	Davis, Baptist
	Davis, Daniel
	Davis, James
Callaway, Lowder	Deford, Abraham
Cample, Daniel	Delaney, Edward
Cample, John	Devan, Charles
Cannon, Clarkson	Devan, John
Cannon, Richard	Dewees, Elijah
Cannon, Wingate	Dewees, Ezekiel
Canun, James	Dodd, William
Carey, Elijah	Dougherty, Benjamin
Carey, Solomon	Douglas, John
Carroll, William	Downes, Elijah
Carty, Charles	Dycus, William

Enos, Stephen

Fawcett, John

Ferrey, Daniel

Fiddey, Jesse

Fiddey, Thomas

Fiddey, William

Finney, Archibald

Flanagan, William

Fleming, Archibald

Fleming, Boaz

Fleming, John

Floyd, Aaron

Frame, William

Freeman, John

Furbush, Richard

Garretson, James

Gass, John

Gibbs, Edward

Giles, Joshua

Glacken, John

Glen, Benjamin

Glover, Amos

Gonce, Abraham

Grace, William

Gray, Frazer

Greenwood, Thomas

Griffith, David

Hall, James

Hall, Robert

Hall, William

Hanson, John

Hardy, William

Harniss, William

Harrington, Absalom

Harrington, Bash

Hartshorn, Amos

Hawke, Thomas

Hawks, Joseph

Hayes, Robert

Hearns, James

Heart, Joshua

Hill, Jonathan

Hitchins, William

Holland, James

Holland, John

Hopkins, John

Hopkins, William

Houston, Charles

Hurley, Pharoah

Hutchinson, William

Idelot, Salmons

Jackson, Daniel

James, Alexander

Jester, Thomas

Jones, James

Jones, Lewis

Jones, William

Jordan, James

Kearns, James

Kelly, Dennis

Kenear, James

Kennedy, Robert

Kerry, Daniel

King, James

Killpatrick, John

Kirkpatrick, John

Lacy, John

Lacy, Spencer

Leary, Cornelius

Lego, Mark

Lilley, James

Lindsey, William

Lysle, James

Logan, Jesse

Lord, Adam

Magee, Samuel

Manlove, William	Owens, Paris
Manship, Henry	Owens, Robert
Marrinor, Constantine	
Martin, Anges	Patton, Alexander
Martin, David	Pegg, John
Massey, William	Perry, Cornelius
McCalley, Robert	Peterson, Andrew
McCue, Henry	Peterson, Hezekiah
McDonald, Bennet	Phipps, George
McDonough, John	Pierce, John
McDowell, Joseph	Polk, Edward
McGarvy, John	Polk, John
McGraw, James	Polk, William
McGraw, John	Porter, William
McIntire, Samuel	
McKafferty, Arthur	Quillen, Daniel
McKee, David	
McKee, Isaac	Rayfield, Charles
McMullen, James	Read, John
Meredith, Davis	Revell, John
Meredith, Henry	Reynolds, James
Meredith, Jacob	Riggin, David
Moodey, Benjamin	Roach, Daniel
Moore, Elsey	Roach, Thomas
Moore, John	Roberts, John
Morgan, Elijah	Robertson, James
Mullen, James	Rogers, James
Murphy, Joseph	Rogers, John
Murphy, Richard	Rogers, Joseph
Musgrove, James	Ross, David
Mustard, William	Russell, John
	Russell, William
Neighbors, Levi	Ruth, David
Neill, John	Ryns, John
New, Jethro	
Nolds, Robert	Salmons, Solomon
Notingham, Jacob	Saunders, Jesse
	Saunders, John
Oglesby, Thomas	Scotten, William
O'Neal, James	Short, William
O'Neal, John	Sleaven, Dennis
Owens, David	Smith, Robert

Smith, William
 Spence, William
 Spencer, William
 Stafford, John
 Stephens, John
 Stratten, William
 Streets, Jacob
 Streets, Robert
 Stewart, David
 Swaney, Timothy

Tam, John
 Tardy, John
 Tate, John
 Taylor, Edward
 Taylor, Robert
 Terry, Daniel
 Thomas, John
 Townsend, Causton
 Toy, Neal
 Truitt, Parker
 Tull, Noble
 Tyre, Isaac

Vandegrift, Abraham
 Vanliuvenigh, Israel
 Vanliuvenigh, James
 Vaughan, Edward

Vaughan, Joseph
 Vaughan, William
 Veezey, John

Wainright, John
 Waples, John
 Warren, Eleaven
 Webley, William
 Wells, Thomas
 West, Thomas
 Wharton, Eli
 Whealey, Edward
 Wheeler, Joseph
 White, Jacob
 White, James
 Whittington, Gilbert
 Williams, Francis
 Williams, Isaac
 Williams, James
 Williams, Jesse
 Williams, John
 Williams, Mathew
 Williams, Nathaniel
 Wilson, George
 Windsor, Samuel
 Wingate, Cannon
 Woods, Isaac
 Worrilow, John

Note: This roster has been compiled from all of the existing references in *Delaware Archives* showing names of enlisted personnel. A number of the above names are variously spelled in the regimental records. The spellings used above are those which appear the most often or which appear to be the most obviously correct ones. Variants can be found in the index of the appropriate volume of the *Archives*.

The Simon Kollocks of Sussex in the Eighteenth Century

By J. BENNETT HILL *

IN a charming piece of woodland near Millsboro, Delaware, overlooking the Cow Bridge Branch of Indian River, there is a brick-walled enclosure containing some old tombstones.¹ Delawareans whose memories go back a long time will tell you that the enclosure is a part of the burying ground of the old Saw Mill Meeting House. This was its local name on account of the proximity to Frame's saw mill, but the meetinghouse was officially the Indian River Presbyterian Church, a congregation combined under a common pastorate with those at Cool Spring and Lewes. The church building is gone and nothing but a few scattered bricks mark the spot where it once stood, but the little burial plot is still there. Vandals have broken up some of the stones, but there still stand those of Simon Kollock, Esquire, and his wife, Jane, with their inscriptions almost as clear as the day they were cut.

Simon's epitaph reads as follows:

Sacred
to the Memory of
SIMON KOLLOCK, Esquire
who died June 10th, 1817
Aged 80 years

As a ruling elder he watched this Church
more than forty years. He served his country
with dignity in the Judicial, Legislative and
Military departments, a friend to liberty &

* Dr. Hill, of Wynnewood, Pa., is a retired chemist; he is the author of numerous scientific papers and collaborator in several technical books, but this is his first publication in the field of history.

¹ The site is on the property of Mr. Wilford Revel, just a mile north of Millsboro on the east bank of the stream.

the rights of his country through a long life
and was ever esteemed a man of inviolable
integrity, extensive charity & public spirit
by his fellow citizens of every party ²

his grave still watches over the site of the church he loved so much.

References to "Simon Kollock" sprinkle the pages of Sussex County history during the Revolution and last quarter of the eighteenth century, but it is clear that several different men were so named. The Kollock family history shows three of these Simons living at about the same time, and it is the individual records of these three that have become badly confused. In an attempt to identify the Simon of the old Saw Mill Meeting House, it became clear to the author and his wife that it was necessary to sort out the records of all three of these Simons; this paper contains the results of our studies to that end.

The founder of the Kollock family in Sussex County was Jacob Kollock, who settled in Lewes about 1689. Where he came from is not certain. There is a tradition that the family was originally French Huguenot, with the name Colloque, and that members of it reached the New World by way of Holland, where the name had become Kollock. Jacob acquired considerable property in Lewes and became active in the life of the community. He died in 1720 at the age of sixty-three. His grave in St. Peter's Churchyard in Lewes is pointed out as one of the oldest in that burial ground.

The will of this Jacob Kollock ³ mentions seven children: Simon, Hannah, Jacob, Jane, Magdalene, Hester, and Cornelius.

² Jane Kollock's stone bears the following inscription:

In
Memory of
Mrs Jane Kollock
Late Consort of
Simon Kollock, Esquire
She Departed this Life
August 26th A D 1804
Aged about 59 Years

³ Sussex County Wills, Liber A, p. 130 (Register of Wills Office, Georgetown, D.C.). This Jacob Kollock is not to be confused with his son, Colonel Jacob Kollock, who became an even more prominent citizen of Lewes than his father. This son, Jacob, is mentioned a number of times by Justice Daniel F. Wolcott in his article Ryves Holt, *Delaware History*, VIII (March, 1958), 3-50.

Simon was the eldest, but the order of the others is uncertain. The residence was left to Cornelius. Most of the property in Lewes, however, went to Simon, who will be designated Simon of Jacob, the first Simon Kollock in Sussex County records, but not one of the three often confused.

No records of the date of Simon of Jacob's birth or death have been found, but he was probably born about 1688. He married Comfort, the daughter of Hercules Shephard and granddaughter of a colorful character, Captain John Avery. There is no reason to doubt the identification of Simon of Jacob by Edwin Jaquett Sellers⁴ with the Simon Kollock who was sheriff of Sussex County in 1730, 1731, and 1733⁵ and the holder of various other public offices. In 1742 he deeded to his brother Jacob, later the well-known Colonel Jacob Kollock, the plot "on which the aforesaid Simon Kollock and his son Shephard lately lived,"⁶ and in 1754 reference is made, in a description of other lands, to "Simon Kollock's land" as if he still lived.⁷ He seems to have died soon after this.⁸ The dates established for this Simon clearly distinguish him from the three later Simons.

After Simon of Jacob's death, his son, Shephard, mentioned in the 1742 deed, seems to have taken the leading position in the family and to have acquired most of the property. An indenture dated 1793, in describing a piece of land, states that it was formerly owned by Simon Kollock and that on his death it had gone to his son Shephard and daughter Comfort; Shephard had purchased his sister's portion.⁹ Another daughter of Simon of Jacob, Mary, married Captain David Hall and became the

⁴ Edwin Jaquett Sellers, *Genealogy of the Kollock Family of Sussex County, Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1897), pp. 9-10.

⁵ Simon Kollock succeeded Ryves Holt in this office. C. H. B. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County, Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 47. Simon and his brother, Jacob, are both listed among the subscribers to the building of St. Peter's Church in Lewes in 1722. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁶ Sussex County Deeds, Liber H, p. 6 (Recorder of Deeds Office, Georgetown, Del.).

⁷ Delaware Papers, C. H. B. Turner Collection (Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania), II, 21.

⁸ The index to court proceedings in the Orphans' Court Office at Georgetown lists an accounting in 1758 of the estate of Simon Kollock, deceased. The volume to which the index refers is missing, being neither at Georgetown nor at the Archives in Dover.

⁹ Delaware Papers, *op. cit.*, II, 66.

mother of Colonel David Hall, Governor of Delaware from 1802 to 1805; she also had a daughter, Jane Hall, who will be mentioned later in the story of the Kollocks.

According to Sellers, the eldest son of Simon of Jacob was named Simon;¹⁰ this problematical son will be referred to as Simon of Simon. He is the first of the three Simons whose data are confused, but his very existence is not yet documented. In his book on the Kollocks, Sellers says of Simon of Simon that he married Hetty Perry in 1765, and that they were the parents of two children, Mary and Major. Mary, again according to Sellers, became the wife in 1768 (precocious young lady!) of Colonel Henry Neill, the Revolutionary officer.¹¹ These data are unfortunately not documented and they appear to be in error. The present author, in spite of diligent search, has been unable to find any evidence that Simon of Simon ever existed at all.

There is, indeed, an interesting record of a Simon Kollock who was an active loyalist during the Revolution. The dates do not prevent identification of this loyalist as Simon of Simon, who would probably have been born about 1710 and would have been in his sixties at the time of the incident here related.

A letter from David Hall and others to the President of Congress, dated June 24, 1777, protests that nothing is being done in Sussex County to curb the activities of the Tories. It reads in part:

One Simon Kollock of this County, who last fall went on board the Enemies Ships, it is said has lately been on shore and brought with him Twenty Thousand Pounds in Counterfeit thirty Dollar Bills, and has engaged some of his accomplices to purchase Cattle with them (the High Sheriff of this County appears to be a principal) supposed to be for the use of the Enemy, and although some of the bills has been detected

¹⁰ Sellers, *Kollock Family*, p. 10. Also Edwin Jaquett Sellers, *Supplement to Genealogies* (Philadelphia, 1922), p. 52. Sussex County Chancery Case C28 (1774) Peter Clowes et ux vs. Margaret Kollock (Public Archives, Dover, Del.) is a prolific source of genealogical information on Jacob Kollock's descendants in the third and fourth generations. It has no trace, however, of this Simon of Simon.

¹¹ Sellers, *Supplement to Genealogies*, p. 52, gives more and later information on Catherine Perry (as he now calls her, instead of Hetty), but still leaves this Simon father-in-law of Col. Neill.

in this town, not a single step has been taken to bring the perpetrators of this Villainy to Justice.¹²

The bearer of this letter¹³ was the patriot Henry Neill, who would be, if Sellers' account is correct, the son-in-law of the man against whom the complaint is lodged.

Action was taken against the Simon Kollock mentioned in the letter. "Simon Kollock, junior, cooper" is included, along with Thomas Robinson and other more famous loyalists, in the list of those "excepted from pardon" by the act of 1778.¹⁴ His property was confiscated and sold by the State. It brought £111, including the sale of sundries to his wife¹⁵ and the sale of a piece of land along the Nanticoke River to James Buchanon.¹⁶ To us nowadays the "junior" would indicate Simon of Simon, but this term was not used then as it is now, for the "junior" then might simply have distinguished him from another older Simon living at the time. The record of this man might belong to Simon of Simon, if there was such a man, or might belong to another Simon of known loyalist leanings, the second Simon of our confusing three, Simon of Shephard.

This second Simon was a younger son of Shephard Kollock, who has already been mentioned, and his wife, Mary Goddard. Shephard, as we have suggested, was an owner of considerable land and a man of prominence in the community around Lewes. This Simon of his was the fourth of his seven children and was born in 1744.¹⁷ From the division of his father's estate in 1767, Simon inherited a plot of forty-two and a third acres near Lewes.¹⁸ In 1769 he sold thirty-nine and three-quarters acres

¹² Public Archives Commission of Delaware, *Delaware Archives* (Wilmington, 1919), III, 1282.

¹³ There is also a letter, dated Aug. 9, 1777, from Colonel W. Richardson to the Board of War describing the same activity. George Herbert Ryden, *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney* (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 211.

¹⁴ *Laws of the State of Delaware*, II (Newcastle, 1797), 636.

¹⁵ "Accounts of forfeited estates in Sussex County, A. D. 1778," General Reference File (Public Archives, Dover, Del.), Folder 306-b.

¹⁶ Sussex County Deeds, Liber M, p. 417 (Recorder of Deeds Office, Georgetown).

¹⁷ The Shephard Kollock who established himself in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and who became a journalist, printer, and publisher of note, was the youngest of these seven children of Shephard and Mary Kollock.

¹⁸ Sussex County Deeds, Liber K, p. 269 (Recorder of Deeds Office, Georgetown).

it to William Lewis.¹⁹ A portion or all of the remaining piece was sold to Benjamin Carpenter in 1771.²⁰

According to Sellers, Simon of Shephard held various public offices and it was he who married Jane Hall (sister of Colonel David Hall), by whom he had children.²¹ But, as will be shown, this record, insofar as it is accurate at all, belongs to yet another Simon still, and not to Simon of Shephard. It was apparently Simon of Shephard, and not Simon of Simon, who married Catherine (Katty) Perry in 1765.²² (Sellers' first work called Catherine "Hetty.") They had one child, Charles Perry Kollock, who died in infancy. Katty died shortly after the child's birth. Opposite the item of their marriage in the records of the Long Spring Church have been added the words, "He fled to England."²³ Runk's *Biographical and Genealogical History of Delaware* tells more about him.²⁴ This book contains a biography of Dr. Henry G. M. Kollock which was written during Dr. Kollock's lifetime and is probably authentic. It shows Simon, the son of Shephard and Mary, as Dr. Kollock's great-grandfather. It says that Simon married Catherine Burton and had three children by her, one of whom was William, the grandfather of the biographee.²⁵ This record would indicate that Simon married again after Katty's death. Runk says that Simon was averse to bearing arms and went to Halifax during the Revolution, leaving his family behind, and that he spent the rest of his life in Halifax. Runk's biography and the comment on the

¹⁹ Sussex County Deeds, Liber L, p. 11 (Recorder of Deeds Office, Georgetown).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

²¹ Sellers, *Kollock Family*, p. 13; Sellers, *Supplement*, p. 52.

²² This information about Simon of Shephard is based on a series of seven cards the Birth, Marriage, and Death indices in the Public Archives in Dover. They refer to the same pages of *Rodney's Diary*, but this reference is incorrect and the actual source of the information has not yet been located.

²³ Records of the United Presbyterian Churches of Lewes, Indian River, and Long Spring (transcript in the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania), p. 276.

²⁴ *Biographical and Genealogical History of the State of Delaware* (Chambersburg, 1899), p. 657.

²⁵ William Shephard Kollock is buried, along with various members of the Howell family into which he married, in a private burial plot on the Short property on the north side of Indian River about two miles east of Millsboro. According to the gravestone he died September 25, 1807, aged 31 years, 10 months, 5 days; he was there born November 20, 1775. Runk says he was a sea-captain and was poisoned by his cook.

church record agree so well as to make it more than probable that this is in fact the history of Simon of Shephard. It is furthermore quite possible that his loyalist sympathies went beyond the mere aversion to bearing arms and that Simon of Shephard, rather than Simon of Simon, was the man who used counterfeit money to buy cattle for the British.

The third Simon Kollock of our three was a son of the original Jacob's son, Cornelius. This is the man who proves to be the Simon whose grave is at Millsboro, whose will is on file, and whose record is the fullest and clearest.

Before proceeding with this man's history it is fitting to offer the evidence which identifies him so positively as Simon of Cornelius. This evidence is in the history of his lands. His will disposes of a number of tracts, including two called "Luck" and "Luck's Addition."²⁶ The will of Cornelius Kollock bequeaths "to my son Simon Kollock two hundred acres of land of the tract I now live on called Luck."²⁷ The story of this land and how it grew to be 820 acres is described in a patent issued by the State of Delaware to Simon Kollock on November 12, 1804.²⁸

A certain William Pepper had conveyed two one-hundred-acre tracts of land in Somerset County, Maryland, to Cornelius Kollock on February 22, 1715.²⁹ When the land was resurveyed in 1750 on a special warrant from Lord Baltimore, it turned out actually to be 515 acres. By Cornelius' petition there were added to it 305 acres of vacant land, making a total of 820 acres comprising Luck and Luck's Addition. Simon acquired the rest of this land from Cornelius' other heirs, and the patent of 1804 confirms his ownership of the entire tract. In the final settlement of the Maryland-Delaware boundary in 1775, the land became part of Dagsboro Hundred of Sussex County.³⁰ The conclusion

²⁶ Sussex County Wills, Liber G, p. 105 (Register of Wills Office, Georgetown).

²⁷ Worcester County Wills, Liber 38, p. 244 (Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland).

²⁸ Sussex County Patents, Liber W-10, p. 65 (Recorder of Deeds Office, Georgetown).

²⁹ Sussex County Deeds, Liber H, p. 145 (Recorder of Deeds Office, Georgetown).

³⁰ Another deed (Sussex County Deeds, Liber P, p. 626 [Recorder of Deeds Office, Georgetown]) of Simon Kollock and Jane, his wife, to George Prettyman in 1795 describes a parcel of land as "being a part of Cornelius Kollock's Resurvey called Luck."

seems inescapable that this identification of Simon of Cornelius as the Simon Kollock of the Saw Mill burying ground is correct.

The history of Simon Kollock of Cornelius may now be reconstructed from the wealth of material at hand. According to his tombstone he was born in 1737 (or 1736). His father, Cornelius, was a shipowner and sea-captain.⁸¹ Simon became attracted to Ann Tennent, the daughter of the Reverend Charles Tennent, who was pastor of the Blackwater Church (Presby-

⁸¹Over the period 1727 to 1760 Cornelius Kollock appears frequently in the records as owner or master, in connection with a number of vessels. ("Ship Registers of the Port of Philadelphia, 1726-1775," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII, 259, 379, 506; XXIV, 354, 359; XXV, 123, 563; XXVI, 474.) No record of his birth has been found, but his history would indicate he was probably born in the early 1690's. On September 26, 1723 he was married to Jerusha, the daughter of Ebenezer Billings, of Dorchester, Massachusetts. He apparently made his home in Dorchester and was there until Jerusha's death on November 1, 1729. (Tombstone, old Dorchester Burying Ground.) They had three children: Cornelius, born 1724; Royall (or Ryall), born August 18, 1726; and Lemuel, born September 1728. (*Twenty-First Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston—Dorchester Births, Marriages, and Deaths to the End of 1825*, Boston, 1890, pp. 111, 177. Frederic Endicott, *The Record of the Births, Marriages, and Deaths and Intentions of Marriage in the Town of Stoughton from 1727 to 1800 and in the Town of Canton from 1797 to 1845, Preceded by the Records of the South Precinct of Dorchester from 1715 to 1727*, Canton, Mass., 1896, p. 17.) Not many years after Jerusha's death he married Hannah ——. This Hannah was almost certainly the daughter of the Reverend Richard Billings of Little Compton, R. I., and his wife, Sarah Little (Billings), and a first cousin of Jerusha. The record of the marriage is not been found but Harold Ward Dana in his article on "Roger Billings of Little Compton, Mass., and Some of his Descendants" (*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XCII, 372) points out that in the Little Compton record of her birth there is a notation that she married "Collick." (The name of Cornelius is so spelled in most of the early New England records.) Cornelius and Hannah seem to have moved back to Sussex County about 1731, for beginning in that year the maritime records show him as Cornelius Kollock of Sussex County. One of his records for that year is as the owner of the sloop "Lovely Hannah." The three sons by Jerusha may have been left in Massachusetts with the Billings relatives; if not they eventually returned to Massachusetts, for their records are in Dorchester and in neighboring towns. The Kollock family in New England therefore stems from Cornelius of Jacob.

Cornelius and Hannah had four children: Simon, William, Sarah, and Mary. The maritime records of Philadelphia show William in 1771 as master and co-owner of the schooner "Polly." Sarah seems to have married first a man named Griffiths and second Wrixam Lewis. Mary married Henry Neill. The late records of Cornelius show him as of Maryland, and his will also (*loc. cit.*; dated January 5, 1771; proved March 6, 1771) describes him as "Cornelius Kollock of Worcester County Maryland" and living on his tract called "Luck" (in what is now Dagsboro Hundred, Sussex County). The will mentions his wife Hannah and six of his seven children; his son Cornelius had died in 1754). Hannah and Simon were left executors but Hannah withdrew. Hannah was buried at Indian River on October 24, 1774. The church records describe her as "Hannah Kollock, widow of Capt. Cornelius Do."

terian) near Frankford and of the Buckingham Church in Worcester County, Maryland.³² About 1771 Simon and Ann, or "Nancy," as she was called, were married.

Nancy Kollock bore Simon three daughters: Martha Tennent, baptized November 15, 1772; Mary Neill, baptized April 23, 1775; and Hessy, baptized May, 1777.³³ There is no record of Martha's marrying and she seems to have died without issue. She was not living when Simon made his will in 1816, for he provided that a gravestone be placed on the grave of his "daughter Pattsy."³⁴ Hessy is not mentioned in Simon's will and there is no further record of her. Nancy died on May 22, 1777³⁵ shortly after Hessy's birth and it may be that Hessy died in infancy.

As far as we know, therefore, the only descendants of Simon and Nancy were through their daughter, Mary Neill Kollock. She married Dr. Theodore Wilson on May 18, 1795.³⁶ In the marriage bond they are recorded as "single man and single woman."³⁷

Mary Neill (Kollock) Wilson had three children by Theodore, all sons: Simon Kollock, Matthew, and James. There seems to be no church record of their births, but after Theodore's death Mary became a communicant at the Cool Spring Church and had the three boys baptized on April 22, 1800.³⁸ The will of Simon of Cornelius makes his two grandchildren Simon Kollock Wilson and James Wilson his principal bene-

³² The Reverend Charles Tennent was the son of the Reverend William Tennent, famous founder of the Presbyterian Log Cabin College. Charles' pastoral career was spent entirely in Delaware and nearby Maryland. He died in 1771.

³³ Records of the United Presbyterian Churches . . . , *loc. cit.*

³⁴ *Loc. cit.* Patty and Patsy were common nicknames for Martha.

³⁵ Charles Tennent's Bible, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

³⁶ Records of the United Presbyterian Churches . . . , *loc. cit.*

³⁷ Marriage License Bonds (Public Archives, Dover, Del.), III, 36. Theodore Wilson was the son of the Reverend Matthew Wilson, who was pastor of the three Presbyterian churches of Lewes, Indian River, and Cool Spring, and an ardent and active patriot. Theodore was a brother of the Reverend James Patriot Wilson, who became pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. Theodore met a tragic end; he was shot and killed by the wronged husband of a patient. This story has been luridly told by Pastor Weems as a tract against adultery. Mason L. Weems, *Three Discourses* (New York, 1929). Weems in this story refers to Theodore's wife as "the only daughter of my worthy old friend, Colonel Simon Kollock of Indian River."

³⁸ Records of the United Presbyterian Churches . . . , *loc. cit.*

ciaries. There is no mention of Matthew and presumably he had died.³⁹

After Dr. Theodore Wilson's death, "widow Mary Wilson" married Dr. Mark Greer, of Kent County, on December 7, 1802.⁴⁰ It is interesting that she married another doctor. It may be that the two men in their medical associations had become friends, and Dr. Greer may have been a frequent visitor in the Wilson home. By this second marriage Mary Neill Greer had three children, again all boys: Charles Tennent, John, and George. The dates of their birth are not known. John and George are mentioned in Simon Kollock's will, but Charles died young and was apparently not living in 1816 when the will was written.⁴¹

Mary died sometime before 1810, for on the fly-leaf of the Bible of Martha Macky (wife of the Reverend Charles Tennent and Mary's grandmother) there appears the following inscription by Mark Greer:

This Book is Higher in my estimation than all other Books, not only on account of its Intrinsick Value, but because it was once the property of my late and ever to be lamented Wife, Mary Neill Greer—with her I received it—It decended to her from her mother Ann Kollock, the Wife of Colonel Simon Kollock and Daughter of the Reverend Charles Tennent. It decended to her from her mother, Martha Tennent, the Wife of the Reverend Charles Tennent, and Daughter of James Macky, of Philadelphia, from whom she received it as a present—Since it has continued for so many years in a Branch of the Tennent family, it is my wish to continue it still longer—to that end, it is my desire that it shall be kept safe and in good order for my son, Charles Tennent Greer, to be given him when he arrives at the age of twenty one years; but if he should die before that time, it is then my desire that it be given to my son, John Greer, when he arrives at the age of twenty one years—

Mark Greer

18th March 1810⁴²

³⁹ Dr. Simon Kollock Wilson is buried with his second wife, Louisa White, in the Kollock plot near Millsboro.

⁴⁰ Records of the United Presbyterian Churches . . . , *loc. cit.*

⁴¹ Simon Kollock Wilson and Mark Greer were left by the will as executors, but Mark withdrew—possibly because his children shared so little in the estate!

⁴² This Bible is in the possession of Mrs. Julian Alexander, Philadelphia; other than this note on the fly-leaf, it contains no family records. Simon Kollock's Bible, referred to in his will, has not been located.

Mark Greer subsequently married Ann Taylor Pettigrew, who became a well-loved matriarch of Milford in the second half of the nineteenth century.

To return to Simon of Cornelius. Ann (Nancy) Kollock died before her husband. He then took a second wife, marrying on September 2, 1778, Jane, the daughter of Captain David Hall, sister of the David Hall who became governor. Jane's mother, Mary (Kollock) Hall, and Simon of Cornelius were first cousins, for you will recall that Mary was Simon of Jacob's daughter.

Jane, called "Jinny," had three husbands within five years. She first married David Gray, who died on December 19, 1774. On April 24, 1776, she married Dr. John Wallace, but he too died. So it was "Mrs. Jinny Wallace" who married "Col. Simon Kollock."⁴³ For over twenty-five years she was mistress over the Kollock household. She died at the age of fifty-nine on August 26, 1804, and her grave became the first in the Kollock plot in the Old Saw Mill burying ground.⁴⁴

Jane's will would indicate that she left no children by any of her three marriages,⁴⁵ nor is there any other record of children. Her property was left entirely to the families of her brothers and sister. Simon Kollock signed a note to the will indicating that he was familiar with its provisions and in agreement with them.

Simon of Cornelius was an extensive land owner. In addition to the property which he inherited from Cornelius and which he later enlarged, he acquired a number of other nearby tracts. His lands in Dagsboro Hundred consisted of at least 1,200 acres and lay to the north of what is now Betts Pond and Shoals Branch. He and his family lived in the "Morrison House Plantation" on this property. He erected and operated a grist mill and this he left to his grandson, Dr. Simon Kollock Wilson, who rebuilt it about 1850.⁴⁶ Besides his Dagsboro property, Simon appears frequently in the records as a buyer and seller of lands. When the forfeited property of Thomas Robinson,

⁴³ Records of the United Presbyterian Churches . . . , *loc. cit.*

⁴⁴ Tombstone, see footnote 2.

⁴⁵ Sussex County Wills, Liber F, p. 192 (Register of Wills Office, Georgetown).

⁴⁶ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1888), II, 1337.

loyalist, was sold by the state, Simon Kollock was the successful bidder on two of the tracts.⁴⁷

Simon was an elder in the Indian River Church. He served as a commissioner to the Lewes Presbytery, and Presbytery records show meetings at his home. In 1791 he was one of the commissioners from the Indian River Church to act with those from its two associated churches to call a new pastor after the death of the Reverend Matthew Wilson.⁴⁸ The words in Simon's epitaph that "he watched this Church more than forty years" speak for his Christian devotion.

During the Revolution Simon ardently espoused the patriot cause. When four battalions of militia were recruited in Sussex County in 1775, Simon Kollock appears among their officers as major in Colonel John Dagworthy's battalion.⁴⁹ On September 1778, he was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the Sixth Regiment of Delaware Militia.⁵⁰ Whether he ever saw action is problematical; he probably did not.

In a letter from Matthew Wilson to Colonel William Bradford in Philadelphia on July 29, 1778, Colonel Simon Kollock is mentioned as a "staunch Whig."⁵¹ There is an interesting item in the examination in 1780 of a Moses Stuart as a loyalist. It seems that a group of Tories had united in an "association" to prevent the collection of the supply tax. The local authorities had heard about it and had summoned witnesses to be sworn in to testify of their knowledge of it. Stuart tells of the efforts of the loyalists to prevent this legal investigation. Some of them went to Simon Kollock "to order Kollock not to qualify the witnesses with respect to the association, who, on their return, . . . reported that Kollock told them he was determined to proceed agreeable to law."⁵²

In 1778 Simon Kollock was elected to the House of Assembly of the State of Delaware (later known as the House of Repre-

⁴⁷ Sussex County Deeds, Liber N, p. 220 (Recorder of Deeds Office, Georgetown).

⁴⁸ Records of the United Presbyterian Church . . . , *loc. cit.*

⁴⁹ Leon deValinger, Jr., "Council of Safety Minutes," *Delaware History*, I (1946), 64.

⁵⁰ *Delaware Archives*, III, 1246.

⁵¹ Turner, *Records*, p. 320.

⁵² *Delaware Archives*, III, 1295.

tatives).⁵³ He was elected again in 1782 and 1784 and was made Speaker of the House in 1782.⁵⁴ He was appointed a justice of the peace in 1778, 1793, 1802, and 1809 and continued in the office until 1816.⁵⁵ He was appointed to the Court of Common Pleas of Sussex County in 1793.⁵⁶ He served as Land Office Commissioner for Sussex from 1804 until his death in 1817.⁵⁷

Surely the epitaph of Simon Kollock cut on the stone in the Saw Mill Meeting House burying ground and composed by his friend the Reverend James Patriot Wilson, is not an overstatement of his service. With the establishment of his identity, some of the confusion of the three Simons is cleared: 1) Simon of Simon, whose existence is cast into doubt by this study 2) Simon of Shephard, loyalist, and 3) Simon of Cornelius, patriotic citizen of Sussex County.

As so often happens in research, this study of the Simon Kollocks has led to the posing and probable answer to another problem. Who was the Mary Kollock who was the first wife of Colonel Henry Neill? She is supposed by some to have been the daughter of Simon Kollock the patriot, but it has been shown that this Simon's daughter Mary became a Wilson, then a Greer. If Simon of Simon did exist and was in reality an active loyalist, it is highly improbable that Mary was his daughter, as Sellers has identified her, for if Neill's wife had been the daughter of a notorious loyalist, the fact would almost certainly have been mentioned somewhere. Another identification of her appears probable. The will of Cornelius shows a married

⁵³ Ryden, *Caesar Rodney*, p. 253.

⁵⁴ Scharf, *History of Delaware*, I, 412. Since the representatives were elected each year, the writer has tried to obtain information on the intervening years to see whether Simon Kollock's membership in the Assembly was continuous. Mr. Leon deValinger, Jr. has very graciously checked the minutes of the Assembly. In a personal communication he has confirmed the 1782 and 1784 dates, but has pointed out that the minutes for 1779-1781 inclusive and for the period June 21, 1783 to October, 1784 are missing. Kollock's name does not appear in the returns of 1785 and 1786. In 1787 Simon Kollock was elected to the Council of the Delaware State but was not seated.

⁵⁵ Public Archives Commission of Delaware, *Governor's Register: State of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1926), I, 26, 39, 43, 77, 136.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 147.

daughter, Mary Neill,⁵⁸ and the chancery case *Peter Clowes et ux*. Margaret Kollock identifies her husband as Henry Neill.⁵⁹ It is quite probable that it is she who was the wife of Colonel Neill, and therefore the sister, not the daughter, of Colonel Simon Kollock, our Simon of Cornelius. This explanation would fit better with the ascertainable dates, too. Colonel Neill was born in 1742 and was therefore only five years younger than Colonel Kollock. The two men were apparently good friends. It is further of interest that Simon named his daughter Mary Neill Kollock, presumably for his sister, Mary Neill. Unfortunately, since there is no will nor Orphan's Court record for Colonel Neill's first wife, this explanation will have to remain a hypothesis until other evidence is found.

⁵⁸ Worcester County Wills, Liber 38, p. 244 (Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland).

⁵⁹ *Loc. cit.*

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE
CHESAPEAKE AND DELAWARE CANAL—Conclusion

Completion of the Canal

By RALPH D. GRAY

In the deep cut, . . . more earth will be removed from the same extent of surface, than has ever been done in any part of the world.—Joseph Hemphill, 1825¹

PREPARATIONS for beginning the construction of the enlarged, relocated canal were in progress throughout the latter part of 1823 and into 1824. In October, 1823, five permanent committees were established by the board: Works, Accounts, Finance, Old Claims, and Correspondence. The Committee of Works, in charge of the most important aspect of the company's responsibility, was headed by Silas E. Weir, a shrewd, hard-working man who honorably served on the committee until his death shortly before the canal was completed.²

Calls were made for installments to be paid on delinquent shares of old stocks. It was hoped to put all shares, both new and old, on an equal footing. Notice was given in September that all shares of old stock, "on which FIFTY dollars shall not have been paid on or before the 12th day of *December* next, will be exposed to public auction, or forfeited according to the provisions of the charters of incorporations."³ In December, it was announced that sixty-five dollars was required by April 1, 1824.

The calls received a good response—in Philadelphia—but insufficient shares had been subscribed to cover the estimated expense of the lower route—\$1,200,000.⁴ It was nevertheless

¹ *Register of Debates in Congress*, 18th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 219.

² Henry D. Gilpin to Joshua Gilpin, October 9, 1823, Henry D. Gilpin Papers (Historical Society of Delaware).

³ *Delaware Gazette* (Wilmington), September 23, 1823.

⁴ Carey later said that all of the canal's support had come from Pennsylvania,



PANORAMIC MAP OF THE CANAL

The panoramic map, Philadelphia to Baltimore, is in the Map Collection of the Historical Society of Delaware.



SUMMIT BRIDGE, ABOUT 1870

Photograph courtesy of Dr. Allan G. Schiek, Claymont, Delaware.

ecided to begin construction at once, for further delay was deemed disastrous to the entire project. Signs were seen of an appropriation from Congress before the present funds were exhausted. Mathew Carey pointed out that there would be a new president of the United States soon, and that *all* of the candidates were pledged to internal improvements.⁵

Most of the difficulties predicted by the opponents of the lower route, and many others, were encountered during the five and a half years of construction. The final cost of digging the canal was \$2,201,864, sixty-two per cent more than originally estimated. Cutting through the dividing ridge of the peninsula—the deep cut—was most difficult and troublesome. The excavation, ninety feet deep in places, was regarded at the time as “one of the greatest works of human skill and ingenuity in the world.”⁶ But the job was tedious, expensive, and dangerous. With each land slip, when the banks of the deep cut fell into the canal excavation, a cry was heard from the persons dissatisfied with the canal location.

The estimated expense of the canal, according to the board of engineers, was \$1,354,364.64; according to Randel, \$1,211,447.00. Subscriptions totalled only \$750,000 when the work began, but contracts for the entire line of the canal were made soon after the route was selected. The pay scale in the contracts was based on Randel's lower estimate. Randel himself con-

cepting that received from the state and national governments. Pennsylvania and its citizens, Carey claimed, contributed \$1,676,284 for the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. *Brief View of the System of Internal Improvement of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1831), p. 28.

⁵ *Address to the Stockholders* . . . (Philadelphia, 1824), p. 8. Carey made a study of the stockholders of the company in 1824, classifying them according to the amounts of their subscriptions. The larger stockholders were banks, insurance companies, and owners of real estate in Philadelphia, while the “smaller ones [were] generally in the country.” Carey believed that most of the stockholders expected the increased benefits of the canal trade to business in general would justify their investments.

Five stockholders each subscribed for \$10,000 or more, eleven subscribed for \$5,000 to \$10,000, two for \$4,000, two for \$3,000, nineteen for \$2,000, ninety-one for \$1,000, and 617 for less than \$1,000. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Carey himself subscribed for twenty shares in the canal company. He rarely used “a turnpike or canal subscription on application,” but he never “subscribed for a single share with a view to profit.” Carey, *Letter to a Few Friends* (Philadelphia, 1825), p. 8.

⁶ James Weston Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry, 1780-1800* (Harrisburg, 1947), p. 92.

tracted to dig the eastern half of the canal, and "several of the principal contractors on the Erie Canal" offered to build the remaining half on the same terms.⁷ Construction of the canal began officially April 15, 1824, "by the removal of the first sod, near Newbold's Landing, in the presense of the board" and others, although by March 27, the entire line of the canal had been cleared of trees and underbrush.⁸ By June, 1824, a work force of 850 men and 150 horses was actively employed.⁹

The length of the canal was to be thirteen and five-eighths miles, with two tide and two lift locks. The eastern mouth of the canal, at Newbold's Landing, later Delaware City, was forty-six miles below Philadelphia. Its western termination was Back Creek, a tributary of the Elk River, itself an arm of the Chesapeake Bay. The canal was to be sixty-six feet wide at the water line, thirty-six feet wide at the bottom, and ten feet deep. Passing places were to be constructed every half mile, except within the deep-cut area, where they would be one mile apart. A large semi-circular harbor was to be constructed in the Delaware River. The locks of the canal were to be one hundred feet long and twenty-two feet wide.

The line of the canal was divided into seven sections, beginning at the Delaware River. The first three sections, requiring an average cut of $7\frac{1}{8}$ feet, were a total of $4\frac{1}{4}$ miles long. Section four was $3\frac{3}{8}$ miles long, and required an average cut of only two feet. The deep-cut area, section five, was $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles long, and reached a maximum elevation of seventy-seven feet. Approximately three million cubic yards of earth had to be removed from the deep cut. Sections six and seven were $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles long, and relatively shallow cuts were necessary in this area. The canal was not to be a tidewater canal, although nearly so. The summit level of the waterway would be but seventeen feet above sea level.¹⁰

⁷ Thomas P. Cope to Joseph Hemphill, Philadelphia, March 29, 1824, in "Report of Mr. Van Dyke from the Select Committee on Roads and Canals to Whom was Referred the Memorial of the President and Directors of Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company," 18th Congress, 1st Session, *Senate Document No. 70* (April 24, 1824), Appendix A, p. 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁹ *Fifth General Report* (1824), p. 13.

¹⁰ Article by John Randel, Jr., from the *Albany Daily Advertiser*, reprinted in

Carts and wagons, drawn by horses, were used to transport the earth from the excavation. Some of the earth was used to make the semi-circular arms of the Delaware harbor. Upland soil was used to fill low-lying areas of marshlands on the eastern half of the route, and to form the banks and towpaths through that region.

Wages of the canal workers were low, and living and working conditions were almost indescribably bad. Makeshift buildings to house the workers were erected along the canal route. Many of the canal workers were Irish immigrants, although some Negroes were employed. The work force was segregated at first, but later all of the men labored side by side. The Negroes were, however, fed and lodged in separate buildings. According to a contemporary observer,

the men [were] summoned to meals and work by a bell, which must be punctually obeyed or a forfeiture incurred. The workmen live in companies of fifteen or twenty in *Shanties*—frame buildings along the canal, provided with a cook, or board in more private houses erected for the purpose.¹¹

It is difficult to determine the exact wage of the canal laborer. The men were employed by the contractor rather than the canal company. Men working on the Pennsylvania canals averaged from ten to twelve dollars per month in 1831, although in the winter months wages often fell to five dollars or less per month.¹² Ezekiah Niles stated that the common laborer received sixty-five to seventy-five cents per day in 1823, although \$1.25 per day had been average in 1795.¹³

¹¹ *Delaware Gazette*, March 23, 1824. Randel estimated the total cost at \$2,000,000, surprisingly near the actual cost. His article accompanied an advertisement in the many newspaper for contractors and workers. "It seems to be the determination of the managers of the business of the canal," growled Harker of Delaware, "that the people of Delaware shall have nothing to do with it but to pay their money, for the purpose of giving employment to the citizens of other states, to make a great frog pond to perpetuate the remembrance of their ill nature, and the astonishing genius of Mr. Randel." *Ibid.*, March 30, 1824.

¹² *American Watchman, and Delaware Republican* (Wilmington), May 17, 1825. Mathew Carey, *Address to the Wealthy of the Land* (Philadelphia, 1831), p. 9. Carey pointed out that most canal laborers could not support a wife and two children even a subsistence level, even if the wife made fifty cents a week.

¹³ Quoted in William A. Sullivan, *The Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania, 1800-1900* (Harrisburg, 1955), p. 73.

Many wage earners in the early nineteenth century received a whiskey ration as part of their pay, but such does not seem to be the case for workers on the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. Randel advertised during the first months of 1825 for five hundred men, "not addicted to profanity or intemperance."¹⁴ The following year, the board of directors praised the

spirited, humane, and wise conduct of some of the contractors, in expelling from their borders the pest of tippling shops, which had infested the whole line. . . . These nuisances, by furnishing the pestiferous draught by day and by night, rendered the workmen not only unfit for labour, but the ready instrument for riot and disorder. When drunk, they frequently fell, exposed for hours, unsheltered, to the rays of the sun, and evenings dews—fever, and death, were but too often the melancholy consequences.¹⁵

Besides occasional trouble from drunkenness, illness and injury to the workers caused considerable delay. Moreover, it led to a large burden on the county. Destitute canal workers, incapacitated by fevers, became wards of the county. "We have seen them," exclaimed Editor Harker, "brought up by the cart load [without resort but] to apply for admission into the poor house of the county."¹⁶ The taxpayers were unhappy with their additional burden. Delaware had a law, passed in 1739, requiring those who imported dependent nonresidents to give security for their support, but this law was evaded by first landing the workmen in Philadelphia before bringing them to Delaware. In 1826, after being aroused by Harker's protests, New Castle County adopted indemnities to protect itself from the expense of maintaining dependent canal laborers.¹⁷

Hopes for an early completion of the canal were high when as many as twenty-six hundred men were at work on the canal in July, 1826. Even during the winter of 1824-1825 six hundred men were employed, and the following winter two thousand men were at work on the canal.¹⁸ The original contracts called

¹⁴ *Delaware Gazette*, February 11, 1825.

¹⁵ *Seventh General Report* (1826), p. 16.

¹⁶ *Delaware Gazette*, October 21, 1825.

¹⁷ Elizabeth Howell Goggin, "Public Welfare in Delaware, 1638-1930," in *Delaware: A History of the First State*, ed. H. Clay Reed (New York, 1947), II, 795-98.

¹⁸ Similar numbers were employed by other canal companies. In 1818 the Erie

for completion of the canal within four years, by the spring of 1828, but at one time the board expected to finish a year ahead of schedule. The board of directors maintained a continual watch on the progress of the work by means of visiting committees. The ten-man board was divided into five pairs, each pair forming one visiting committee. Conscientious in their work, the committees from time to time recommended alterations or improvements in the workmanship.¹⁹

Work proceeded satisfactorily the first year. No more than the usual difficulties were experienced in construction. The spirits of the management and owners of the canal were high at the annual meeting in June, 1825. The tide lock on the Delaware had been completed. It was expected that the Chesapeake tide lock would be finished before winter. Some disappointment was expressed that the excavations through the marshes had been less vigorously prosecuted than the other work, but Randel was instructed to attend to those sections at once. The workers had "suffered by the usual autumnal fevers of the country," the board admitted, "but at no time has the work been suspended, or even materially interrupted."²⁰

Others described the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal as "a scene of great activity and diligence."²¹ Besides work at each end of the canal, digging had already begun in the deep-cut area, where earth was to be obtained for making the towpath and the banks through the marshes. "The work proceeds regularly and constantly," reported one observer:

Empty teams continually take the place of those which go off with their loads, and by means of copper tokens given to each driver as he takes away a load, the precise number is ascertained by the overseer. . . . It is difficult to understand the magnitude of the undertaking without personal inspection. The huge chasm at the Buck astonishes the spectator, although not one third of the intended depth has been dug.²²

The canal had 3,000 men at work upon it; in 1829 the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal employed 3,100 men but was advertising for 10,000. In 1826 there were 1,200 men at work on the Delaware and Hudson Canal, and in 1828 there were 5,000 men employed on the Pennsylvania canals. Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Towpaths: The Story of the American Canal Era* (New York, 1926), p. 73.

¹⁹ Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company Papers (HSD).

²⁰ *Sixth General Report* (1825), p. 7.

²¹ *American Watchman, and Delaware Republican*, May 17, 1825.

²² *Ibid.*

A number of Philadelphia gentlemen, "full of zeal for the cause of internal improvements," planned an excursion to the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal works to honor DeWitt Clinton in 1825. A new steamboat, the "Trenton," was hired to carry the party and its distinguished visitor to the canal line on June 4, 1825. Rough water prevented the group from proceeding beyond New Castle, but a banquet was held aboard the steamer to commemorate the progress on the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal.²³

That progress was interrupted briefly in the fall of 1825 when John Randel, Jr., was abruptly dismissed from his contract. Although new contracts were readily let and work was quickly resumed, a controversy over the Randel episode continued for ten years and was a constant source of trouble for the company. Besides alienating many supporters by their action, the board of directors brought severe financial loss to the company.

Benjamin Wright, as the chief engineer, had been made sole umpire in cases of dispute over the amount of work done. Upon his written certification, given July 30, 1825, that Randel had unreasonably neglected his contract, the board dismissed the contractor two months later. A brief hearing had been granted Randel, "whose explanation and excuses [were] unsatisfactory" to the board. A suit was instituted against Randel to recover money loaned to him.²⁴ In retaliation, Randel filed suit against Benjamin Wright personally and against the company for breach of contract. In a case fraught with technicalities, ambiguities, and complexities, one that took ten years to settle in the Delaware courts, Randel was eventually awarded judgment in the amount of \$226,385.84 against the company. His suit against Wright was dropped.²⁵

As the Randel case was before the courts until 1834, the

²³ "Steam Boat Excursion in Compliment to Governor Clinton," June 4, 1825, Edward Shippen Burd Papers (Historical Society of Pennsylvania). The editor of the *Delaware Gazette* believed their failure to reach the canal was proof of the "impropriety of taking it so low down the river," where navigation for rafts or canal boats was hazardous. *Delaware Gazette*, June 28, 1825.

²⁴ *Seventh General Report* (1826), pp. 7-9.

²⁵ Samuel M. Harrington, ed., *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Superior Court and Court of Errors and Appeals of the State of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1901), I, 42-43, 322.

most serious repercussions from Randel's dismissal occurred after that date. At the time he was dismissed there was but a brief interruption in the work. The board awarded the contracts for finishing Randel's portion to several individuals, rather than again relying on one man. Within a month, these new contractors were advertising for one thousand laborers, three hundred carts, and six hundred to nine hundred horses.²⁶

A great outcry arose against the board's treatment of Randel. Most outspoken of the critics was Mathew Carey, who published a strong denunciation of the board and a defense of Randel in his *Exhibit of the Shocking Oppression and Injustice Suffered for Sixteen Months by John Randel, Jun., Esq. Contractor for the Eastern Section of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, from Judge Wright, Engineer in Chief, and the Majority of the Board of Directors*. This work appeared within two weeks of Randel's dismissal, protesting the assertion that Randel had "neglected" his contract. The young engineer, announced Carey, had spent \$3,369 of his own money on the canal, had worked nine months without pay, and had six hundred to seven hundred men on the job—as certified by Visiting Committee Number Three (Isaac L. Jones and George Gillespie)—when he was charged with failure to fulfill his contract. Moreover, Randel had completed 83 per cent of the work in thirteen months, although he had a four-year contract.²⁷

Carey attributed the trouble to personal animosity between Wright and Randel, both former Erie Canal engineers. In 1822 Randel had published a pamphlet, *Description of a Direct Route for the Erie Canal, at Its Eastern Termination, With Estimates of Its Expense, and Comparative Advantages*, which charged Wright, as chief engineer, with having unnecessarily extended the Erie Canal, thereby wasting about \$100,000.²⁸ Carey believed that Wright had carried a grudge against Randel ever since.

²⁶ *American Watchman, and Delaware Republican*, October 25, 1825.

²⁷ [Mathew Carey,] *Exhibit of the Shocking Oppression and Injustice Suffered for Sixteen Months by John Randel, Jun. Esq. Contractor for the Eastern Section of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, from Judge Wright, Engineer in Chief, and the Majority of the Board of Directors*. . . . By the Author of an *Appeal to the Stockholders* (2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1825), pp. 2-7.

²⁸ Pp. 4-5; Carey, *Exhibit of the Oppression*, p. 8.

Within the board, too, disagreement existed on the merits and abilities of Randel. Paul Beck, Jr., who had been a leader in reviving the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company in 1822, resigned his seat in protest of Randel's treatment prior to the dismissal.²⁹ As Harker, editor of the *Delaware Gazette* expressed it, "There has been a perfect explosion among our Canal folk within a short time."³⁰ Carey had attempted to arouse public opinion against the board's actions. He was saddened to think "such a villainous course of conduct . . . should be viewed with so much apathy," although he was certain "the public sentiment is most decidedly against the board."³¹ A stockholders' meeting to disapprove the board's conduct was planned by Carey but did not materialize.

Disaffection of some of the stockholders did not discourage the board. At the time of making the new contracts, the date of completion was advanced to March, 1827, a year early. By no outward sign did the board acknowledge awareness of the criticism. It made no public statement, demanded by Carey, to justify its action. A letter was sent to the governor of Pennsylvania, however, expressing confidence in an early completion of the canal, and stating that there was no foundation for the alarmist reports circulating to the prejudice of the company.³²

Despite the trouble with Randel, the year 1825 had proved productive. The company had not slackened in its attempts to get financial assistance from the federal government when the three states, private institutions, and individuals subscribed to the company. Indeed, these subscriptions renewed their efforts and buttressed the arguments of the canal supporters. Two petitions in 1822, after it became known a revival was underway, proved fruitless. But a petition to Congress in December, 1823, to which a progress report was added in March, 1824, led to the introduction of a bill granting aid to the company. Reported

²⁹ Paul Beck, Jr., to the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company, Philadelphia, September 6, 1825, Carey Collection (Library Company of Philadelphia).

³⁰ October 14, 1825.

³¹ Diary of Mathew Carey, November 2, 1825 (University of Pennsylvania Library).

³² James C. Fisher to Governor John Shulze, Philadelphia, November 16, 1825, Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Papers (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission).

April 1, 1824, the bill was tabled indefinitely on May 21, 1824. Revived the following session, the bill was the subject of lengthy debate. Joseph Hemphill, a representative from Pennsylvania, spoke at length upon the history of the canal, the previous attempts to obtain congressional aid, and the progress of the work to date. Despite the strength of his report, the bill barely passed on a third reading, eighty-six to eighty-three.⁸³

The major debate occurred on the final consideration of the bill. James Hamilton of South Carolina opposed the appropriation to the company on the grounds that the military importance of the canal was overrated, and that private enterprise would eventually complete the work anyway.⁸⁴ He was effectively opposed by Louis McLane of Delaware, who made a powerful argument for the canal.

McLane's speech was reprinted in the *Delaware Gazette*, because, said the editor, it contained all the arguments for the bill and was the best statement he had seen upon the subject. McLane opposed further delay while new surveys were being made, as proposed by some, because more than enough information was already available to justify the appropriation. He believed that the work would not be completed by individual enterprise alone, because the canal was "more a national than an individual work." Neither of the three states most intimately concerned could build the canal alone. In Delaware and Maryland support of the project was confined to a small area, and Pennsylvania had committed itself to a program of improvements within the state. Because of the peculiar state of things, and the conflicting interests, McLane believed the government should aid individual spirit and complete a work which would otherwise be abandoned. But \$700,000 of an estimated \$1,200,000 cost had been subscribed. An immediate need for the government subscription existed.⁸⁵

Samuel Breck of Pennsylvania supported McLane's position. He believed the project would fail without government aid. Citizens of Philadelphia currently held a total of \$4,000,000 in

⁸³ *Register of Debates*, 18th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 216-24.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 285-90.

⁸⁵ *Delaware Gazette*, January 28, 1825; *Register of Debates*, 18th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 290-97.

unproductive internal improvements stock, including Chesapeake and Delaware Canal stock; Breck was sure no more aid could be obtained from that quarter.³⁶

Arguments based on the military advantages of the canal, its national character, and the enterprise and zeal of individuals to date were enlisted to combat opponents who held constitutional objections or maintained the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was a local project. Representatives from New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina spoke against the bill, but opposition in those states was not unanimous. The bill in the House passed by a comfortable margin, 113 to 74. In the Senate, after a brief discussion in which Senator Tazewell of Virginia vainly attempted to add a rider to the bill calling for a subscription to the Dismal Swamp Canal, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal bill, authorizing a subscription for fifteen hundred shares, or \$300,000, was passed. Signed by President Monroe on his last day in office, the bill became law March 3, 1825. The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was the first project of those recommended by Gallatin to receive an appropriation.³⁷ News of the appropriation, not altogether unexpected, was received with great joy among the canal enthusiasts.

The sanguine hopes for an early completion of the canal were not realized. Difficulties in construction, a misunderstanding with another contractor, and financial problems contributed to the delay. Criticism and adverse publicity about the progress of the work continued to plague the directors.

Excavating the deep cut was a difficult task, but equally vexing problems faced the canal personnel in the eastern marshes. It was necessary to bring in firm upland soil to form the canal banks and to build the towpath. The marshes had to be filled, sometimes to a depth of forty or sixty feet, before suitable banks

³⁶ *Register of Debates*, 18th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 302.

³⁷ Carter Goodrich, "National Planning of Internal Improvements," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXIII (Mar., 1948), 34-35. Similar subscriptions to the Louisville and Portland and the Dismal Swamp Canal companies were authorized the following year. In 1828 \$1,000,000 was appropriated for the use of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company. The state of Delaware ranked third, after Florida and Ohio, among the states in which the United States government spent money on internal improvements. *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1830* (3rd ed., Boston, 1839), p. 224.

were formed. At one spot, while attempting to fill a bog, "for successive mornings, no trace of the labours of the preceding day was visible; everything had been swallowed up."³⁸

While the engineers were battling the forces of nature in the marsh areas, elsewhere parts of the canal were being completed. During the first week in October, 1826, Summit Bridge, a 247-foot span across the deep cut of the canal, was completed.³⁹ Towns were laid out at both ends of the canal line, in anticipation of future greatness as commercial centers. At the Delaware terminus, the site of hopefully-labelled Delaware City, public confidence in the canal venture was so great that a large lot within the village sold at the rate of \$4,356 per acre.⁴⁰ Warehouses and dwellings were built, and even a post office was established there in 1826.

As the work continued, it became increasingly evident that the subscriptions to the canal company stock would not build the canal. Unfortunately for the stockholders who had hoped for dividends within a reasonable number of years, the company was forced to borrow money in 1826. The company obtained a loan of \$350,000 from the Bank of the United States in July, and in January, 1827, the company borrowed an additional \$200,000.⁴¹ As a result of the loans and other financial difficulties met by the company after the canal was completed, no dividends to the stockholders were paid until 1854, thirty-one or in some cases fifty-one years after the subscribers had pledged their money.

Appeals to Congress were again made, but for three years the petitions went unheeded. An additional government subscription of \$150,000 was made in March, 1829. The company

³⁸ Samuel Hazard, ed., *The Register of Pennsylvania*, I (June 28, 1828), 415. General Macomb, Chief Engineer of the United States Army Corps of Engineers, remarked in 1826 that in the marshlands area "the canal [was] literally . . . turned inside out." Quoted in *Delaware Gazette*, August 22, 1826. The weight of the sinking banks forced up surrounding areas of ground. A dredging machine, reported Harker, cut on the bottom of the canal excavation six feet lower than the surface of the surrounding meadow, was raised above the original ground level. *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXXI (October 7, 1826), 96.

⁴⁰ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware, 1609-1888* (Philadelphia, 1888), I, 423-24.

⁴¹ *Eighth General Report* (1827), n. p. On August 15, 1827, the company borrowed \$50,000. The following year \$139,300 was obtained through loans, and the company reopened the subscription books to obtain the balance of a required \$300,000.

was forced to sink deeper and deeper into debt during the final years of construction. Harker caustically asked the canal management if they had not reached the bottom of the treasury before the bottom of the canal was reached. The company's difficulties caused the market value of its stock to drop alarmingly. In June, 1826, stock on which \$185 a share had been paid brought \$115, but four months later, stock with a par value of \$200 per share was quoted at \$60.00 to \$65.00.⁴²

Hopes again sagged when difficulties with contractor J. F. Clement resulted in an injunction against the company which suspended operations on the eastern half of the canal for four months. Clement was a partner in Clement, Blackstock, and Van Slyke, a firm which had contracted to build a portion of the canal. The men were dismissed from their contract in the fall of 1826 for financial misrepresentations, according to the company; for reasons of personal difficulties with assistant engineer Henry Wright, according to Clement. Clement filed suit against the company for breach of contract, which resulted in an injunction while measurements of the work performed by Clement and his partners were made. If the company had assisted in the measurements, charged Clement, the injunction could have been removed within three weeks. As it happened, work was arrested from December 11, 1826, until the first of April, 1827.⁴³

In spite of this work suspension at a crucial period, the board of directors was able to make an optimistic report to stockholders in June, 1827. Passing over the error in estimating the time as well as the cost of executing the work, the board reported in detail on the progress. Sections one and two, six and seven, the Delaware harbor, the eastern tide lock, and both western locks were completed. Work on the middle sections,

⁴² *Delaware Gazette*, June 9, 1826; October 31, 1826.

⁴³ The board presented its side of the case in the annual report for 1827, while Clement replied to its "false and groundless" declarations in a letter published in the *Delaware Gazette*, July 6, 1827.

There is a manuscript book among the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company Papers containing the measurements of the "excavation done by Messrs. Clement, Blackstock & Van Slyke." The measurements were made by Henry Heald and Daniel Livermore in March, 1827, "by order of the Referees in the Suit of J. F. Clement vs. the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal Company."

comprising the marsh and deep-cut areas, was delayed by the junction, but a large number of men was currently at work.⁴⁴ Causes assigned for the increased expenses were alterations in the original plans and the failure of contractors. The Delaware harbor and the size of the locks were made larger than originally planned. Another expense not included in the original estimate was the cost of stoning the walls of the canal in the Summit area. This was done to prevent the banks from being washed away. Most important, however, were the additional expenses incurred at the marshes, already amounting to \$200,000, in 1827.⁴⁵ The directors consoled their stockholders with a report on the trade of the Susquehanna River. In 1826 the value of this trade, much of which was expected to use the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal when completed, had "amounted upwards of 5,000,000 dollars."⁴⁶

The directors visited the canal *en masse* just previous to the stockholders' meeting in 1827, and at that time they were able to pass in a sloop along the canal to St. Georges. A year later the eastern section of the canal was opened to traffic. The company was pleased to report in June, 1828, that the canal was in use from the Delaware River to the Summit Bridge: "Sloops, heavily laden, are continually flying between these two points; and the Lady Clinton Packet Boat runs daily on the same route."⁴⁷ Philadelphia steamboats began making regular calls at the company's harbor at Delaware City. Excursion trips to the canal works to view the work in progress were customary events in the summers of 1828 and 1829. In 1829, when the excursion steamboats arrived in Delaware City, canal boats were used to transport the touring group through the canal to Summit Bridge.⁴⁸ Delawareans frequently journeyed to the canal line to see the magnitude of the undertaking, and one of the attractions of spending a recuperative week at Brandywine Springs in New Castle County, Delaware, was a ride to the canal area.⁴⁹ The

⁴⁴ *Eighth General Report*, n. p.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ninth General Report* (1828), p. 9.

⁴⁸ *Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1829.

⁴⁹ *Delaware Gazette*, June 12, 1827. E. I. du Pont, for example, visited the canal works in June, 1828. F. G. Smith to E. I. du Pont, Philadelphia, June 30, 1828, Francis

most impressive sight was at the summit level, where a wedge of earth 230 feet wide at top, 36 feet wide at the bottom, and 80 feet deep had been sliced from the ridge. The gaping hole was spanned by a wooden covered bridge in a single arch. A vista worthy of true admiration in the 1820's had been created.



The great and important work . . . which by many was considered a desperate and hopeless enterprise, has, by six years of anxious toil and steady perseverance, been completed.—Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company, 1830 ⁵⁰

The last remaining obstruction to the canal was near the Summit Bridge. This slight barrier of earth was removed on July 4, 1829, when water was admitted along the entire length of the canal. The occasion was one of great moment for the canal directors and their supporters, but the small celebration was ill-favored by the weather. "The torrents of rain that descended during the whole of the day," reported Hezekiah Niles, "prevented the performance of certain ceremonies which were intended, and rendered it exceedingly uncomfortable to the military who attended from Baltimore to assist therein." ⁵¹ An official party, consisting of the board of directors and secretary of the company, the mayor of Philadelphia, the superintendent of the works, the canal engineers, and other citizens of Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania passed through the canal in a barge to mark the festive, though dampened, occasion. The barge

G. Smith Correspondence (MSS in Old Stone Office Records, Gunpowder, Hagley Museum).

⁵⁰ *Eleventh General Report* (1830), p. 17.

⁵¹ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXXVI (July, 1829), 317; Federal Writers' Project Papers, XLVI, 212 (typescript in University of Delaware Memorial Library). Five volunteer military companies, under command of Colonel Benjamin C. Howard, left Baltimore by steamboat "in a torrent of rain, which continued the whole night and the succeeding day and night." They were landed at Chesapeake City and marched along the muddy towpath to the Summit Bridge, enduring "privations and sufferings which have seldom fallen to the lot of volunteer troops." After the ceremonies, the troops expected to be returned to their steamboat in a canal barge, but the canal was obstructed by loose timbers. *Delaware Register* (Wilmington), July 11, 1829; Anna T. Lincoln, *Wilmington, Delaware: Three Centuries Under Four Flags, 1609-1937* (Rutland, Vermont, 1937), pp. 225-26. It was reported that a member of one of the Baltimore volunteer companies drowned in the canal on the return march. *Delaware Register*, July 11, 1829.

ed was one of several large, elegant "specimens of the naval architecture of Baltimore."⁵² The barges, ninety feet long and twenty-one feet wide, were in striking contrast to the customary boat of the day, which was less than half as wide.

The editors of the *Philadelphia National Gazette*, in reacting on the day's activity at the canal, remarked on the magnitude of the undertaking:

To those who have not before seen the works, the vast excavation of the deep cut, the length and height [*sic*] of the stone walls by which it is lined, the width and loftiness of the summit bridge, the broad sheet of water, and the large scale on which all parts have been executed, could not fail to occasion much surprise and admiration.⁵³

Work on the canal was not completely finished by July 4, 1829. Repairs were needed at the Delaware tide lock, and at various places along the canal line. It was expected to be finally completed within three weeks. While the finishing touches were being made, plans were taking shape for an official opening of the canal. Various people formerly connected with the canal company in an official capacity, such as directors or engineers, as well as dignitaries in the United States, were invited to attend the opening celebration, set for October 17, 1829. Benjamin Wright, who had become chief engineer of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in 1828, was unable to accept, but Joshua Gilpin, who had served as a director of the company for twenty-one years, accepted the invitation to join in celebrating the long-awaited event. Gilpin, who more than anyone else had kept alive the hopes of the company, was invited "as one of the earliest, most efficient, and most constant friends of this great work."⁵⁴ Among those to send regrets were such varied personages as President Andrew Jackson and the Consul-General of Sardinia, M. Caradofsky de Thaet.⁵⁵

⁵² *Delaware Register*, July 11, 1829.

⁵³ Quoted in *ibid.*

⁵⁴ John K. Kane to Joshua Gilpin, Philadelphia, October 7, 1829, Gilpin Letter Book (Alderman Library, University of Virginia).

⁵⁵ Almost thirty replies to the invitations extended by the board of directors are in the C & D Papers (HSD).

The editor of the *Delaware Gazette* took little notice of the canal opening. The issue of October 20, 1829, contained a brief reference to the event which prefaced publication of the company's invitation to President Andrew Jackson and his reply.

Preparations for the event at the canal line were left in charge of Caleb Newbold, Jr., superintendent of the works. A large slide occurred in the deep-cut area a few days before the opening, but the canal was clear for the official opening-day procession through the canal. Large vessels were prudently barred from the procession, for "a small mistake [would] ground one & do much harm."⁵⁶ Arrangements were made with the garrison of Fort Delaware for the firing of three full salutes of twenty-four guns each, and countless other details were looked to by Newbold in preparation to receive the crowd. "If the day proves fine you will see people enough," he assured company director William Platt, "& I wish with all my heart it was over."⁵⁷

The day proved fine indeed, and hundreds of distinguished visitors, company officials, and other excursionists, citizens of Philadelphia, Wilmington, and the surrounding country, including two Philadelphia military companies, were present. Three steamboats were necessary to carry the Philadelphia party alone. The Fort Delaware salutes were answered by vessels lying near St. Georges and the Summit Bridge.⁵⁸

The group assembled at Summit Bridge, where Robert M. Lewis, chairman of the Committee of Works, announced the completion of the work to the president of the company, James C. Fisher. Lewis gave a brief resumé of the history of the canal, and spoke of the difficulties encountered in construction. The canal banks in the marshes appeared fifteen feet high, he observed, but actually they were twenty to sixty, in places even a hundred feet high. It had taken the continual labor of two hundred men for almost three years, and several hundred thousand dollars, to make the canal through the marshes. Fisher made a brief reply to Lewis' remarks before the official party

⁵⁶ Caleb Newbold, Jr., to William Platt, Delaware City, October 15, 1829, C & D Papers (HSD).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, October 16, 1829.

⁵⁸ According to Scharf, the United States schooner "Ranger" was at the St. Georges lock, while the Boston brig "Scioto" was at Summit Bridge. *History of Delaware*, I, 424. The two military companies were the Washington Grays and the Philadelphia Grays. *Delaware Register*, October 24, 1829. The fullest account of the opening celebration was found in Samuel Hazard, ed., *Register of Pennsylvania*, IV (October 24, 1829), 268-72.

turned to their steamboat, the "William Penn," where a dinner was served. Nicholas Biddle gave another of his addresses on internal improvement.⁵⁹

As a permanent memorial of the event, at the next annual stockholders' meeting, it was decided to erect "a suitable tablet, as a memorial of the date of the commencement of the work, and of its completion," on the canal line.⁶⁰ According to the tablet duly erected at the Summit Bridge, the total cost of the canal was \$2,250,000. The average cost per mile was thus over \$55,000. By comparison with the per mile costs of other canals, the figure was extraordinarily high. The cost per mile of the Erie Canal was \$19,255.49; of the Pennsylvania state canals, \$2,113.44; of all New England canals, \$12,838.71.⁶¹

Tolls were first received by the company in June, 1829. On June 8, G. W. Rodgers commenced his labors as lockkeeper at Delaware City, receiving \$2.00 per day from the company. Beginning in October, however, the company appointed two toll collectors, bonded at \$5,000, who were to pay the lockkeepers. The toll collectors were paid \$750 per year. Keepers at bridges, where no tolls were to be collected, were employed by the company at \$20.00 per month. The bridge tender at St. Georges, who also looked after the lift lock there, received an extra \$5.00 monthly.⁶²

Barges owned by the Citizen's Line, which operated steamboats on the Chesapeake and Delaware bays, began passing through the canal. The trip took two hours, and made complete all-water communication between Philadelphia and Baltimore. Four or five horses, hooked in tandem, were used to draw the passenger boats through the canal at six or seven miles per hour. A southern traveler passed through the canal two months after it opened. He entered the canal at Chesapeake City on December 24, 1829:

Passed through it (distance 16 miles) in 2½ hours. There are four locks & several Bridges made to turn out of the way of the Canal Barge.

⁵⁹ Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, IV (October 24, 1829), 269-70.

⁶⁰ *Eleventh General Report*, p. 17.

⁶¹ Harlow, *Old Towpaths*, p. 83.

⁶² Board Minutes Book, September 28, 1829, C & D Papers (HSD).

The weather became clear & extremely mild . . . & enabled us to have a fine view of its whole extent. At the Summit level there is a fine bridge 70 feet above the water, spanning the whole extent of the Cut, which must be at least 150 feet (of frame, covered & neatly painted) . It springs from Rock abutments & has no arch. Near the Summit level there have been large slides or slips of the Bank of the Canal owing to the springs & marshy nature of the ground. These have been overcome by thatching the Banks with Coarse Straw or Grass.⁶³

Traffic through the canal was heavy from the beginning. One traveler counted ten vessels through the locks at Chesapeake City between two in the afternoon and dusk.⁶⁴ Niles reported in November that tolls were averaging \$100 per day.⁶⁵ Almost that average was maintained until the canal was closed by ice on January 29, 1830. During the period October 17, 1829, to January 29, 1830, 798 vessels passed through the canal, paying \$8,552.59 in tolls. The canal was reopened February 23, 1830, and from that date until June 1, 1830, 1,634 passages brought in \$18,613.20.⁶⁶ Niles noted that more than 18,000 bushels of flour, in addition to large amounts of whiskey, wheat, and iron, were transported through the canal during the first three weeks after reopening. In one week, 102 vessels, counting two daily lines of passenger boats, proceeded through the canal. "Products from Lancaster have reached Philadelphia, by water," announced Niles, "and it is thought that flour may be transported from one city to the other for 25 cents per barrel." He further declared that Philadelphia was reached from Baltimore in about fifteen hours via the canal.⁶⁷

It was with great pride that the company directors announced the completion of the canal to the stockholders in June, 1830. The project "which by many was considered a desperate and hopeless enterprise" then exhibited "a bright prospect of usefulness to the community and revenue to its proprietors."⁶⁸ The directors, encouraged by the amount of trade already given to

⁶³ John Hebron Moore, ed., "A View of Philadelphia in 1829: Selections From the Journal of B. L. C. Wailes of Natchez," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXVIII (July, 1954), 354.

⁶⁴ Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, IV (November 28, 1829), 345.

⁶⁵ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXXVII (November 28, 1829), 216.

⁶⁶ *Eleventh General Report*, p. 14.

⁶⁷ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXXVIII (April 17, 1830), 140.

⁶⁸ *Eleventh General Report*, p. 7.

the canal, saw signs that the trade would soon be materially increased, particularly by traffic from other internal improvements such as the Dismal Swamp Canal, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and the Delaware and Raritan Canal.⁶⁹ In addition, the board expected that freight formerly sent by sea could use the canal. Insurance rates, freight rates, and the hazards of navigation all would be reduced by use of the canal.



The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal continues to do a good and increasing business.—Samuel Hazard, 1830⁷⁰

The operation of the canal for the first five years was relatively trouble free and lucrative, but beginning in 1835 a series of misfortunes struck the canal company. The company never recovered from the financial disasters of its first decade of operation. Until the company franchises and property were purchased by the federal government in 1919, the canal company was continually in debt.

At first it had appeared that the canal would fulfill the expectations of its most hopeful supporters. During 1830, the first full year of operation, the total revenue was \$50,663.76, and in the following year it had increased to \$68,102.62. Freight arrived in Philadelphia from all parts of central Pennsylvania by way of the Susquehanna River, Chesapeake Bay, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, and the Delaware River.⁷¹ Baltimore merchants noticed an immediate decrease in their trade from the Susquehanna River. One Baltimore firm expressed fear that the diverting influence of the canal on the Susquehanna trade would "be disastrous to the interests of the city."⁷²

Most of the canal tonnage was eastbound, but the company permitted empty vessels which had paid a toll on their cargoes to pass through the canal on their return within thirty days free

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁷⁰ Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, V (May 15, 1830), 311.

⁷¹ Livingood, *Trade Rivalry*, pp. 93-94.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 94. Another Baltimore company said that the canal had ruined the city's wheat trade with the Brandywine flour mills. The Brandywine millers, passing their sloops through the canal, collected wheat for themselves rather than trade with Baltimore by the sea route.

of charge. An itemized list of "tolls to be paid and regulations to be observed" by users of the canal was printed by the company. Tolls on articles varied from one cent to four hundred cents per item, empty vessels being charged the latter price of four dollars. The rules, twenty-one of them, governing the use of the canal were customary ones for the period. For example, a speed limit of three miles per hour was placed on all vessels except passenger boats, which traveled at six to seven miles per hour. The passenger boats were given the inside lane when meeting or passing other barges. No animals other than those employed for towing were permitted on the towpath, and lamps were to be displayed at night on all vessels.⁷³

Regularly scheduled vessels began using the canal almost from its inception. In addition to the barges of the Citizen's Line, packet boats operating between Philadelphia and Baltimore, Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Petersburg, Norfolk, and Richmond made frequent use of the canal. A new packet line from Philadelphia to Port Deposit was established in 1830. In addition, it was noted that "a variety of transient vessels [were] trading to the several towns on the Eastern shore. During the week . . . 102 vessels passed through the locks, and . . . the spring trade is only commencing."⁷⁴

Traffic on the canal continued to be heavy. The tolls averaged nearly \$60,000 a year for the first four years. The revenue of the canal was expected to reach \$90,000 in 1832, but an early winter, the completion of the New Castle Railroad, and—most importantly—poor navigation on the Susquehanna River caused a decline in traffic.⁷⁵ In fact, the fluctuations in the navigability of the Susquehanna River continued to have a marked effect on the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company's income. During the years 1830 to 1860, between one quarter and one-half of the revenue of the canal company came from the Susquehanna traffic.

The company was able to make final settlements in 1832 with all but one of the contractors that had been employed in

⁷³ Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, V (January 23, 1830), 53-55.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, April 10, 1830, p. 240.

⁷⁵ *Thirteenth General Report* (1832), p. 9.

constructing the canal, locks, bridges, and walls.⁷⁶ In addition, claims for damages against the company for temporary occupancy of ground by flooding or otherwise were adjusted and liquidated. Minor repairs had to be made to the canal in the

TABLE I

*Tolls and Tonnage of the
Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, 1830-1850*¹

YEAR ENDS JUNE 1	TOLLS RECEIVED	PASSAGES	TOTAL TONNAGE
1830	\$ 24,658	2,379	61,500
1831	61,223	5,280	153,400
1832	63,075	5,633	154,000
1833	61,160	6,790	160,490
1834	54,092	5,438	105,470
1835	47,511	4,889	91,600
1836	35,572	2,467	114,680
1837	56,482	5,433	100,000
1838	67,495	6,568	131,700
1839	67,518	6,034	120,260
1840	54,113	4,363	112,430
1841	69,415	6,384	125,980
1842	78,008	7,528	139,520
1843	66,018	5,973	127,200
1844	98,014	8,413	188,410
1845	97,559	8,778	195,040
1846	101,208	9,684	291,380
1847	167,510	12,054	341,580
1848	186,285	12,810	338,800
1849	173,030	11,802	351,550
1850	198,364	12,912	361,640

¹ Source: J. W. Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry* (Harrisburg, 1947), p. 98; Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company Papers (Historical Society of Delaware).

ly 1830's, but nothing occurred to dampen the hopes of the canal board for a prosperous business. A large waste weir was constructed in 1831 to prevent flooding at the summit level. The next year a culvert under the canal near Delaware City had

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8. Randel's suit against the company was still pending.

to be built. The canal embankments had stopped up the normal drainage ditches, causing the marsh to overflow.

A few attempts to defraud the company were made during the first years of operation. Ship masters resorted to false declara-

TABLE II

*Analysis of the Chesapeake and Delaware
Canal Trade, 1830-1850*¹
(in thousands)

YEAR ENDS JUNE 1	COAL tons	LUMBER sq. ft.	TIMBER cu. ft.	GRAIN bu.	FLOUR bbls.	GROC. lbs.	DRY GOODS lbs.
1830	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1831	—	7,119	—	289	101	—	—
1832	—	6,058	—	316	48	—	—
1833	—	11,237	—	299	20	—	—
1834	—	8,594	—	223	13	—	—
1835	—	18,143	—	131	13	—	—
1836	—	9,143	—	60	3	—	—
1837	20	24,424	1,200	40	11	—	—
1838	21	9,189	1,066	468	21	1,412	—
1839	21	13,921	928	416	15	1,094	—
1840	13	11,336	1,454	316	22	624	—
1841	14	9,381	1,012	482	41	6,193	1,022
1842	13	13,128	1,226	463	54	10,904	2,861
1843	11	11,448	773	597	62	9,917	3,541
1844	13	25,926	1,012	889	78	15,456	13,298
1845	18	21,886	1,125	958	62	16,578	15,569
1846	18	25,097	571	1,536	84	19,587	20,037
1847	29	38,617	2,026	1,982	155	25,440	21,322
1848	36	49,374	1,641	1,141	116	28,578	24,489
1849	39	42,548	1,944	1,667	92	27,919	21,521
1850	54	44,795	2,145	1,826	144	32,103	23,645

¹ Source: J. W. Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry* (Harrisburg, 1947), p. 99.

tions of cargo to escape the toll, safe in the realization that the company was powerless to punish any offenders caught. The company applied to the legislatures of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware for laws to prevent the dishonesty, and the laws were duly passed. One of the toll collectors, to lend authority

his demands for examining cargoes, was appointed a government customs inspector.⁷⁷

After five years of moderately successful operation, the canal company fortunes suddenly took a turn for the worse. In December, 1833, a storm severely damaged the banks of the canal, stopping navigation for ten days. The following spring, a large mass of earth in the deep cut, one thousand feet long and two hundred feet from the canal, showed signs of slipping into the waterway. The immediate hiring of a large group of men to remove the sliding earth avoided that major disaster, but minor slips occurred in other places along the canal line. While the company's dredging machine was clearing the bottom of the canal where slips had occurred, a more serious mishap occurred.

The trouble was caused by a break in the canal embankment at the point where the canal crossed the former bed of Broad Creek. The breach was 150 feet wide, through which the water on the upper level of the canal rapidly escaped. Three and one-half feet of water along the seven-mile length of the upper level was lost before a dam could be thrown across the canal above the break. Working rapidly, the company had the canal open for limited use within thirty days. Vessels drawing six feet of water or less could then be accommodated. Besides the embankment, a bridge abutment and the towpath required extensive repairs.

The most serious consequence of the troubles during the spring of 1834 was the loss of water from the summit level. The reservoirs were drained to replenish the water in the canal, leaving no source of supply during the dry summer months. The canal could offer only limited accommodation for the remainder of the year. The company officials attempted to be philosophic about their troubles, recognizing that the fortunes of all internal improvements fluctuated. "The past year," they said, "may emphatically be called the gloomy period of this company."⁷⁸ As it happened, however, that judgment was premature.

In January, 1834, John Randel, Jr., was awarded damages in his suit against the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12; *Twelfth General Report* (1831), p. 9.

⁷⁸ *Fifteenth General Report* (1834), p. 13.

in the amount of \$226,385.84.⁷⁹ As the company admitted to its stockholders, "The questions that arose in the course of the trial, in relation to the construction of the contract between Mr. Randal and the Company, were very generally, in all material points, decided against the Company."⁸⁰ The company was financially unable to pay the complete damages (it had even been forced to borrow more money in 1834 to maintain and repair the canal), but apparently no effort was made to make a settlement with Randel or even to honor his judgment. Randel took matters into his own hands by attempting to collect tolls from vessels which passed through the canal.

The engineer would have had no chance of success had he not received the support of the Delaware and Maryland legislatures and courts. The courts sustained his practice "of having attachments served on the captains of vessels passing through the canal, and holding them to bail, to answer as garnishees of the Canal Company for the amounts of toll payable on the respective vessels or cargoes."⁸¹ Randel's activities were vividly described to the Governor of Pennsylvania by Nathan Bunker, a Philadelphian:

The locks of the co [sic] are in [Maryland], as in all such cases tolls are cash: they are & must be paid before the vessels could enter the canal, so soon as they reach the limits of Del. State Randall [sic] arrests them & garnishees them as debtors to the canal co. & they are compelled to give a Bail bond in double the amt of toll (paid only a few hours previous) . . . in default of obtaining it are dragged 17 miles to NewCastle prison & then incarcerated [sic] untill some humane friend, hearing their situation bails them out.⁸²

⁷⁹ This case is one of the most famous lawsuits ever tried in Delaware. John M. Clayton, who later became Zachary Taylor's Secretary of State, was one of Randel's lawyers. In this noteworthy case, damages were the highest ever awarded up to that time. George Johnson, *History of Cecil County, Maryland* (Elkton, 1881), p. 391; Federal Writers' Project, *Delaware: A Guide to the First State* (1955), p. 336.

⁸⁰ *Fifteenth General Report*, p. 11.

⁸¹ *Seventeenth General Report* (1836), p. 7.

⁸² Bunker to Governor George Wolfe, Philadelphia, March 6, 1835, Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Papers (PHMC). Bunker continued: "Many of these persons are strangers in Del: (tho Known in this city & Baltimore) & cannot find bail: & must go to prison for a debt they never owed. to obtain this process, Randall swears they are indebted to the canal co. & when I asked him how he freed himself from perjury, he replied 'it appeared at first alarming, but his counsel (Senator Jno. M. Clayton) had appeased his conscience by telling him that if they were not in debt

rather than expose themselves to the attachment proceedings, many ship captains avoided the canal. Randel's efforts to collect the tolls "caused embarrassments and delays of so serious a character as almost to have driven the trade from [the canal]." ⁸³

The company resisted Randel's claim to payment by all the legal means possible. A Delaware law, passed in 1829, had specifically provided for attaching the canal tolls if a judgment obtained against the company was not satisfied within sixty days. Under protection of this law, Randel had followed his unpopular course of collecting the canal tolls. Still the company contested the legality of Randel's action. But in November of 1835, when the Delaware Court of Errors and Appeals decided against the company and the Delaware Supreme Court dismissed a further appeal, Randel's victory was complete. He published a notice of the court's action, in which he gloated: "The company now stands . . . convicted of the charge of compelling Captains of vessels to pay *double toll*;—the very charge they endeavored to make against me, when *they themselves* were the extortioners!" ⁸⁴

At last the board decided to end the controversy which had proven so harmful to the company. The disputants agreed on a method of payment. A special meeting of the stockholders of the canal company was held May 23, 1836, to get their approval of the arrangements. Acts by the legislatures of Delaware and Maryland were required to make the agreement final. Special sessions of both legislatures were called in June to pass the necessary legislation. The company issued certificates for the amount of Randel's claim in a funded and preferred debt, payable in five years. The other debts of the company were funded, and certificates were issued to the various creditors. The loan certificates were convertible into stock at the will of the holder. If the debt to Randel was not redeemed within five

the co. they ought to be because the co. ought not to have collected the toll of \$1000 until his debt was paid'—& on the same occasion he declared that 'believing the co. to be insolvent he saw no other way to get his debt of 226,000\$, but by thus compelling the public trade he expected and hoped to compel the citizens of Philada. & Baltimore to raise by general contribution this large Sum. . . .' These and many other facts will be sustained by legal testimony, if required."

⁸³ *Seventeenth General Report*, p. 7.

⁸⁴ *Delaware Gazette*, February 5, 1836.

years, the Delaware law provided that it was lawful for "the holder of any portion thereof . . . to sell the said canal and any property belonging to the said company."⁸⁵

The revenues of the company suffered during the period of the Randel dispute. Large expenditures were required to maintain the canal in usable condition, for leaks, breaks, and slips were all too common. After the settlement with Randel was made, however, the directors of the company expected an upturn in the business of the canal.



*Only those of us who have watched the business of the Company in recent years realize how much the Canal has benefited our fellow-countrymen. . . . One cannot help having the utmost optimism in regarding the future business of the Company even with the present facilities offered.—Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company, 1912*⁸⁶

Misfortunes continued to plague the canal company throughout most of the years of its existence. In 1844 the right of the canal company to charge a toll on its passengers was challenged by the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad Company. The canal company ceased to demand payment from canal passengers until its charter could be altered to give "a specific right to thus charge toll."⁸⁷ But the Delaware legislature refused to enact a bill granting this right. Opposed by the railroad and later by the Philadelphia and Baltimore Steam Navigation Company (the Ericsson Line), the canal company was never again able to collect a passenger toll. The canal was toll free to passengers seventy-five years before it became toll free to vessels in 1919.

Not until 1846 did the revenue of the canal exceed \$100,000 annually. In that year the company was able to make the first interest payment on its debts, although it was never able to reduce them substantially. In 1856 all debts of the com-

⁸⁵ *Laws of Delaware*, IX, 26-28; *Seventeenth General Report*, pp. 7-9.

⁸⁶ "Chesapeake and Delaware Canal," p. 13, typescript in C & D Papers (HSD).

⁸⁷ *Address of the Board of President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company, to the Stock and Loanholders of that Company* (Philadelphia, 1845), p. 6.

ny were consolidated in a new issue of bonds amounting to \$800,000. The canal property and franchises were mortgaged as security for the loan, which was payable in thirty years. It is possible that the company had hopes of meeting the mortgage payments to fall due in 1886. Those hopes received a final blow that year, when it was discovered that there had been an over-issuance of bonds in the amount of \$615,200 by the secretary-treasurer of the company, who had absconded. It was necessary to refinance a \$2,603,905 loan in 1886.⁸⁸

The intrinsic value of the canal was vividly seen during the Civil War. On it were transported troops, ordnance, supplies, and prisoners; "hospital boats carried back to the North wounded men who could have been moved in no other way."⁸⁹ The canal also played a dramatic role in the early days of the war. In April, 1861, following the Baltimore riots, when rail communications to the north were severed and Confederate troops were threatening Washington, Northern reinforcements were rushed to the scene by steamboats from Philadelphia which passed through the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal and on down the Chesapeake Bay.⁹⁰

During the war the revenue of the company increased materially, but its most prosperous period was immediately following the Civil War. The tonnage of the lock canal reached a peak in 1872, when 1,318,772 tons were carried. In the last year of the war, the canal company had collected a record \$14,312.59 in tolls, but its top net earnings occurred in 1870 and 1871, when over \$160,000 was cleared each year.

Because of its increased earnings after 1846, when tolls first

⁸⁸ A copy of the letter of confession, written by J. A. L. Wilson to company president Joseph E. Gillingham, dated June 29, 1886, is in the C & D Papers (HSD).

⁸⁹ Robert Rossiter Raymond, "The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal in the Civil War," *Professional Memoirs*, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, and Engineer Department at Large, III (1911), 269.

⁹⁰ Captain Philip Reybold related the story of this event to the Agnus Commission in 1906. His father had suggested the plan to the federal authorities in Philadelphia. Reybold asked the commission: "Do you realize that if the canal had not existed in April, 1861, that the session of the Congress of the Confederacy that convened in Richmond . . . would have been sitting in [Washington]?" "Report of the Commission appointed by the President to Examine and report upon a route for the construction of a free and open waterway to connect the waters of the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays," 59th Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Document* No. 215 (January 1907), p. 44.

exceeded \$100,000, the company was able to make its first dividend payment upon its stock in 1854. A second dividend was declared in 1867, and thereafter, until 1873, semi-annual dividends were paid. Single dividend payments were made in 1874, 1876, and 1877, after which no further dividends were paid. In all, seventeen dividends, both of stock and of cash, were declared during the 116-year existence of the canal company.⁹¹

After 1877, the date of the last dividend payment, the trade of the canal gradually declined. In 1880, it was less than half what it had been fifteen years earlier. By 1906 it had decreased by another 25 per cent. The limited accommodations of the canal were seen as its chief drawback.

The growing movement for a larger, ship canal between the two bays was seen as a remedy for the declining fortunes of the canal company. The movement for a spacious, lock-free, sea-level canal began in 1871 when a commercial convention in Baltimore memorialized Congress on the subject. Various commissions were appointed and surveys were made intermittently during the next thirty-five years. In 1906, the Agnus Commission was appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt to go over the matter again, and to make definite recommendations regarding a ship canal. The following year the commission recommended that the government should purchase the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal property and enlarge the existing canal. The company holdings were appraised at \$2,514,298.70; the total estimated cost of the conversion was set at \$20,621,323.70.⁹²

The canal was purchased in 1919 for the recommended \$2,514,000. The United States Army Corps of Engineers enlarged the canal to a sea-level, toll-free, and lock-free waterway twelve feet deep and ninety feet wide in the years 1922-1927. The work was carried on with as little interruption as possible to the traffic of the canal, which then consisted of thirty to fifty vessels a day. A new entrance to the canal was built south of the old entrance at Delaware City, one railroad and four highway bridges were built, and the locks were removed.⁹³

⁹¹ Dividend Book, C & D Papers (HSD).

⁹² See "Report of the Commission," *Senate Document* No. 215.

⁹³ See Earl I. Brown, "The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal," *Transactions*,

In the years 1935 to 1938, the canal was again enlarged, this time to its present dimensions. The canal is 250 feet wide and has a channel 27 feet deep. Since it has been enlarged, the canal traffic has substantially increased:

During the period of transition from a barge canal to a ship canal the number of vessels transiting the waterway increased from 9,034 in 1935 to 14,154 in 1940, an increase of 57 per cent. In this same period the net registered tonnage of vessels increased from 1,622,027 to 6,818,657, a 320 per cent increase. The principal commodities transported by these vessels through the canal are petroleum products, pyrites cinders, fertilizer, coal tar, chemicals, gum logs, lumber, wood-pulp, iron and steel products, refined sugar, canned goods, sea food and miscellaneous manufactured products. In the same period cargo tonnage increased 2,640,000 tons or 248 per cent.⁹⁴

Tonnage in 1957 reached nearly ten million, an amount carried only once before, during World War II. Plans for a further enlargement of the canal have been approved by Congress and await the necessary appropriation of \$101,000,000.⁹⁵



The route . . . was not established in accordance either with the interest or the wishes of a majority of the people of Delaware. The citizens both of Wilmington and of Newcastle were opposed to its present location.—James Buchanan, 1825⁹⁶

The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was constructed under the aegis of Philadelphia. Major support of the canal was not located in the states through which it ran. Delawareans can be said to have tolerated rather than encouraged the original attempts to construct a waterway across their state. At first hesitant for fear it would harm those engaged in the carrying trade across the peninsula, the Delaware legislature at length chartered the

American Society of Civil Engineers, XCV (1931), 716-65, for a detailed engineering report on the enlargement.

⁹⁴ Corps of Engineers, United States Army, *The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal: Inland Waterway from Delaware River to Chesapeake Bay, Delaware and Maryland* (v. ed., Philadelphia, 1941), p. 26.

⁹⁵ Interview with B. H. Brown, Marine Traffic Control Officer at the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, April 4, 1958.

⁹⁶ *Register of Debates*, 18th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 331.

canal company in 1801 in return for concessions from Pennsylvania. Merchants and industrialists in northern New Castle County, particularly the Brandywine millers, were in favor of the canal, and their support proved decisive.⁹⁷

When the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company was organized in 1803, Joseph Tatnall, a Brandywine miller, was the first president of the company. Wilmingtonians and other residents in northern New Castle County subscribed to almost as many shares of stock as did Pennsylvanians. After the first attempts to build the canal proved abortive in 1805, Delawareans continually agitated for the recommencement of the work. Although the Delaware legislature did not make an appropriation to the canal company, neither did the Maryland and Pennsylvania assemblies until the War of 1812 proved the wisdom of the canal supporters. Senators Bayard and White of Delaware led the fight in Congress for federal aid to the canal, even thrice securing the passage of canal bills later lost in the House of Representatives.

Joshua Gilpin, a Delaware resident after 1815, was a leading authority on inland navigation in general and the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal in particular. More than anyone else he kept alive the corporate existence of the canal company during its many years of inactivity. Although the impetus for the revival of the company came from Philadelphia in 1821, Gilpin and other Delawareans applauded their enterprise. E. I. du Pont, a Brandywine manufacturer, was a member of an American Philosophical Society committee to re-examine the canal route in 1821. Two years later Du Pont was instrumental in obtaining \$30,000 from Wilmington investors in new subscriptions to the canal company's stock. A state lottery to raise additional money for the canal was contemplated in 1823.

As enthusiasm for the canal grew in 1823, the state of Delaware unconditionally subscribed \$25,000 towards the canal effort, anticipating both Pennsylvania and Maryland in this re-

⁹⁷ The Delaware legislature, although numerically controlled by the two southern counties, acted in accordance with the wishes of the industrial northern county when possible. A Brandywine canal, strongly urged by Pennsylvania from the early 1790's until 1826, was blocked when it was learned that the Delaware manufactories along the Brandywine Creek "require[d] all its water for their own proper purposes." *Delaware House Journal*, 1826, p. 73.

ect. The substantial support given the canal company, even after the canal offices and books were moved to Philadelphia and surveys of different routes made, was based on the expectation that the canal would lie in the vicinity of Wilmington or New Castle. All previous events, from the first engineering reports in 1803 to Gilpin's *Memoir on the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal* in 1821, indicated such an expectation was logical. Statistics of the anticipated canal traffic were compiled with a Wilmington terminal in mind; congressional debates were conducted within that frame of reference; travelers in Delaware were told the canal entrance would be near Wilmington or New Castle.

There was a reversal in Delaware's attitude toward the canal after the route was relocated to the south. Never popular among the people of Delaware living south of the Christina River and New Castle, the canal company alienated its supporters in northern New Castle County when the route was changed. The state renounced its subscription to the company, but in 1830 sold the productive stock to the New Castle and Frenchtown Railroad Company. Thereafter the state sanctioned actions detrimental to the company fortunes. A Delaware court awarded Randel damages in his lawsuit against the company, and the legislature upheld Randel's unorthodox course of action to enforce payment of his claim. Less than ten years later, at the instance of the railroad company in Delaware, the state passed laws prejudicial to the canal company, forbidding it to charge tolls on passengers.

Many private subscribers refused to make payments on their subscriptions. They were unwilling to throw their money away on the lower route, selected as many believed through the "mean jealousy" of Philadelphia. Delawareans often preferred to forfeit their stock, with the amounts already paid upon it, rather than support what they considered a hopeless cause.

It is unlikely that the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal would have been constructed during the nineteenth century if Philadelphia had had easy access to central Pennsylvania. If a river paralleling the Pennsylvania Turnpike of today had existed, Philadelphia's commercial necessity for the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal would have been relieved. The canal was con-

siderably less important to Delaware and Maryland than to Pennsylvania. Had not Philadelphia determined to effect a water communication with the interior of Pennsylvania, it is probable that the canal would have awaited the development of the intracoastal waterway system.

At present, Delaware has little interest in the canal as a carrier of freight. The waterway is of "considerable importance to the ports of Baltimore, Philadelphia, [and] New York," but only in a "lesser degree" to Wilmington.⁹⁸ As reported by Delaware's congressmen in 1954, the state's chief interest in the canal is centered upon "the bridges across the canal, the protection of the ground water supply in the vicinity of the canal—and reduction of the shipping hazards in the canal."⁹⁹

Two hundred years after a canal between the two bays was dreamed of, and sixty years after the first surveys of the route were made, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was completed. A definite need for the canal had existed since at least 1697, when Dr. Benjamin Bullivant described the movement of goods—even ships—across the narrow neck of the Delaware peninsula:

about 8 myles below n[ew] Castle is a Creeke, by wch you may come to a neck of Land 12 myles over Crosse wch are drawn goods to & from Mary Land & Sloopes also of 30 tunns are carryed over land in this place on certaine sleds drawn by Oxen, & launched again into the water on ye other Side.¹⁰⁰

That need increased with each passing decade as the population and the commerce of the country increased. A series of misfortunes prevented the canal company from being a financial success, but the continuing importance of the canal to America's commercial life cannot be doubted. The fondest dreams of the first canal sponsors at length were realized, but the full potential usefulness of the canal is yet to be attained.



⁹⁸ Ira Wendell Marine and William Charles Rasmussen, *Preliminary Report on the Geology and Ground-Water Resources of Delaware*. Bulletin No. 4 of the Delaware Geological Survey (Newark, Del., 1955), p. 148.

⁹⁹ *Wilmington Morning News*, June 15, 1954. The article was entitled "Bridges Provide State's Principal Interest in Canal."

¹⁰⁰ Wayne Andrews, ed., "A Glance at New York in 1697: The Travel Diary of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XL (January, 1956), 69.

Note: Lammot Descendants

The descendants of Daniel Lammot (1782-1877), the subject for a biography in the September, 1959, issue of *Delaware History*, may find useful the following emendations and additions to genealogical references in the article pertaining to certain of his thirteen children: Margaretta Elizabeth (April 29, 1807-April 13, 1898) m. Alfred Victor du Pont, Oct. 28, 1824; Eleanor Adelaide (May 2, 1813-Nov. 16, 1874) m. Edward Woodward Gilpin, Mar. 15, 1842; Robert Smith (Aug. 24, 1825-Dec. 16, 1888) m. Ellen Cist, Dec. 19, 1865; Anna Rebecca (Oct. 26, 1829-Dec. 22, 1910); his children not mentioned in the article include: by his first wife, Susanna Parham Beck, Ferdinand Fairfax (Sept. 7, 1808-Jan. 20, 1849) m. Maryetta (Marietta) Morse Allen, Dec. 28, 1841, the daughter of Horatio Allen, a founder of a Swedenborgian Church in Maine; and by Lammot's second wife, Anna Potts Smith, the children whose names were omitted, include: Harry Didier (Sept. 6, 1831-Jan. 29, 1918) m. Catherine Clayton, May 1, 1862; Alfred Victor (Aug. 29, 1836-Aug. 17, 1914) m. Susan Formahls, May 3, 1870; and two children who died young, Eugenia Victorine (1822-1839) and Francis Forney (1833-1835). [A Contributor]

News Notes and Book Reports

THE most notable addition to the Society's manuscript collection since our last report is a deed, dated May 5, 1681, by which several Indians convey a tract of land to Hans Petersen Patascus. The consideration was "twoo halfe anckers of Licquors & two matscoats" (matchcoats). At that price today, this piece of Wilmington real estate would be a real bargain, since it embraced land along Brandywine Creek from Alapocas Run to Shellpot Creek. Mr. C. A. Weslager's talk at the annual meeting in April will center about this interesting document. It is a gift from Mr. Robert H. Reakirt of Cincinnati, Ohio.

About 200 Civil War letters of Lieutenant Richard H. Webb of Company I Fourth Regiment Delaware Infantry Volunteers have been placed in the Historical Society of Delaware by Mr. Donald W. Webb. Most of the letters were written to his father, Thomas D. Webb, and to other members of his family and to his friend, Mr. Samuel Bancroft. They provide an intimate and detailed account of army life in Company I from the time it arrived in Arlington Heights, Virginia, in November, 1862, until Lieutenant Webb was killed June 2, 1864, by a bursting shell at Bethesda Church in the Battle of Cold Harbor, Virginia. These Webb papers supplement earlier gifts by the family at various times.

The gift of an etching of Caleb Prew Bennett, one of Delaware's military figures in the wars of the Revolution and of 1812, and governor of the state, 1833-1836, was the starting point of a three-generation exhibit arranged in December. The etching, an original by Mrs. Joseph Lybrand (Gheretein Yeatman) Pyle, came to us from Mr. Charles W. Bryan, Jr., of Chicago. It had once been owned by Robert Shaw.

Lieutenant Bennett's orderly book kept in 1781, during the siege and surrender at Yorktown (a gift of Mr. Robert E. Riegel in 1945), was on display, as well as manuscript material concerning his trial by court martial at New Castle during the War of 1812, in which he served as a major of artillery. Major Bennett suffered nothing more serious than a "reprimand" as a result of this incident.

Caleb Prew Bennett married Catherine Britton in 1792. We displayed a Britton account book (given by Mr. George A. Elliott, Jr., in 1945), opened at a page showing items Catherine bought for her wedding. Also exhibited were various articles which belonged to their daughter Phebe, who married Eli Sharpe—a green parasol, black lace mitts, butter "taster," beaded purse (whose silver frame has the mark of a Delaware silversmith, John Foulk Robinson), thimble, thread, scissors, and scissors clip, the

st-named with the hall mark of Henry J. Pepper, another Delaware silversmith. Finally, for the third generation of Bennetts, there were two gold rings of the Sharpes' daughter Sarah, who with her mother operated Sharpe's Hotel at Front and Market streets after the death of Eli Sharpe.

Our "touch table" (see *Delaware History*, March, 1959 issue) continues to be popular. Standing on it now is a small three-legged bronze cooking pot with a rather long handle, which once belonged to Caesar Rodney, one of Delaware's signers of the Declaration of Independence. Visitors can't miss it as they come into the museum. Few fail to stop for a look and, usually, a lift. The latter requires a better grip on the handle than most people expect in these days of aluminum and lightweight steel utensils. The Rodney pot was given to the Society in 1944 by Miss Gertrude Brincklé and her sister, Mrs. Dorsey R. Rodney, who are descendants of a sister of Caesar Rodney.

An appropriate object for mid-winter display is our early nineteenth century hollow tin foot warmer, which was filled with hot water and carried in sleighs or wagons and into cold buildings—churches, for example, which often had little or no heat in those more robust early days. The foot warmer is U-shaped, so that one's feet can rest within and against it. As the *Index of American Design* says of it, it is a utilitarian piece, unornamental and strictly functional in design. It came to the Society in 1935 from Mrs. W. C. Spruance as part of the Jennie Lovett Lea Ford collection.

Anyone who wishes to know what was going on a hundred years ago today can easily find out by stopping in at the Old Town Hall, where we keep a volume of some Delaware newspaper opened to the appropriate day and year of the preceding century. Right now we have a volume of the *Delaware Inquirer* on the easel, from our large collection of Wilmington and other newspapers. In September the Library of Congress added materially to our newspaper holdings by the gift of 136 volumes of various Wilmington papers, 1875-1927.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF DELAWARE INTEREST

Aydelott, George Carl and others, comps. *The History of the Aydelott Family in the United States* (Erie, Pa.: The Aydelott Family Association). 89 + 12 pp., photo-offset, illus. Includes Delaware lines.

Allen, Richard Sanders. *Covered Bridges of the Middle Atlantic States* (Brattleboro, Vt.: Stephen Greene Press, 1959). 120 pp., illus. A handsome volume by the No. 1 authority on covered bridges. Lavishly illustrated with photographs and drawings showing structural de-

tails. See pp. 40-44 for Delaware bridges—four of which still stand and three of which are long since gone.

[Barr, William A., Jr.] *A History of the Wilmington Whist Club, 1891-1955* (Wilmington, 1955). 40 pp., illus.

Bayliff, William H. *The Maryland-Pennsylvania and the Maryland-Delaware Boundaries*, Maryland Board of Natural Resources Bulletin No. 4, 2nd ed. (Annapolis: Board of Natural Resources, 1959). 120 pp., illus., maps. This is a corrected edition, with new material and new illustrations, of Mr. Bayliff's valuable monograph, first published in 1951 under the title *Boundary Monuments on the Maryland-Pennsylvania and the Maryland-Delaware Boundaries*.

Bell, Whitfield J., Jr. "John Dickinson and Benjamin Franklin," *A News Letter from the Friends of the John Dickinson Mansion*, I, No. 4 (Summer, 1959), 2.

Colbourn, H. Trevor. "John Dickinson, Historical Revolutionary," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXIII (July, 1959), 271-92.

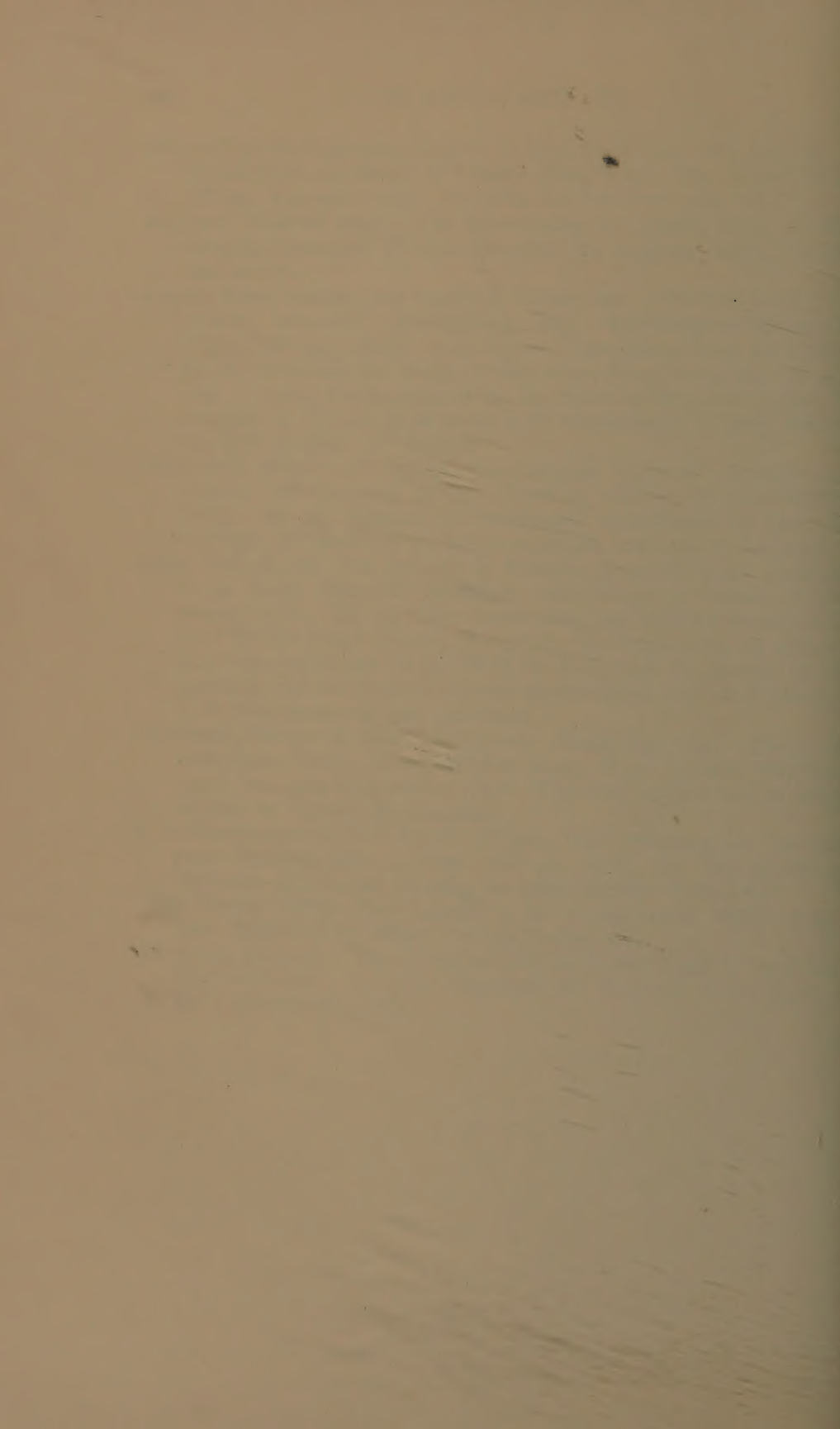
Court Records of Kent County, Delaware, 1680-1705, edited, with a historical introduction, by Leon deValinger, Jr., and a prefatory note by John Biggs, Jr. American Legal Records, Volume VIII (Washington: American Historical Association, 1959). 382+xxii pp., facsimiles. This long-awaited volume will take its place on the Delawareana shelf beside the early New Castle, Upland, and Sussex County court records, which were published (Sussex only in extracts) many years ago. Unlike the others, the Kent records begin with the organization of the county (originally called St. Jones) in 1680. The printed volume includes the first three volumes of manuscript and part of a fourth. After 1705 the manuscript records become more formalized and hence less interesting to the social and economic historian, but those which the editor (who is State Archivist of Delaware) has chosen to print contain the kind of basic information from which our early history should be written. This volume is therefore a notable addition to the corpus of printed source materials for Delaware history. As Judge Biggs says in his prefatory note: "By his careful and precise editing and by his most interesting introduction Mr. deValinger has performed a valuable service for the student, for the researcher and for the lover of history." The book is equipped with an index of proper names and a table of cases.

Dolan, Paul and Dunn, Albert H., comps. *Brookside: A Study of a Suburban Real Estate Development in Delaware* (Newark, Del.: Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Delaware, 1959). 40 pp., mimeo.

Enloe, Thomas A. Enloe Family Notes with Addenda, 1959 (Washington, D. C.: the compiler, 1947; supplemental statement, Carlisle

- Barracks, Pa.: 1959). The notes are photo-offset, 58+1 pp., the supplement 1 p. typescript and 10 pp. autostat, tipped in. Includes Delaware lines.
- the *Ford Foundation and the States of Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania: A Report of Grants to Organizations and Individuals from 1936 to June 30, 1950* (New York: Ford Foundation, October, 1959). 55 pp.
- ale, Nathan C. *Pelts and Palisades: The Story of Fur . . .* (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, 1959). 219 pp., illus. Includes an account of Swedish and Dutch participation in the fur trade in the seventeenth century.
- ancock, Harold B. "An American Paper Maker [Joshua Gilpin] in Europe—1795-1801," *Paper Maker*, XXVIII, No. 2 (September, 1959), 11-15, illus.
- andloff, Samuel. "Legislative Limitations upon the Self-government of Municipalities," *Temple Law Quarterly*, XXXI, No. 3 (Spring, 1958), 243-53. Cites Delaware cases, including King Street market, Wilmington.
- acock, Walter J. "Industrial History on the Brandywine," *Museum News*, XXXVIII, No. 3 (November, 1959), 22-25, illus.
- ibbard, Francis Hamilton. "Captain Joseph Ogle of Virginia and Illinois in the Defense of the Upper Ohio," *West Virginia History*, IX, No. 3 (April, 1948), 224-39. Concerns the Delaware Ogles, the early generations of whom are described in pp. 224-27, a good example of the prolific colonial families whose scions helped to populate the new West.
- et, Robert. *Juet's Journal: The Voyage of the Half Moon from 4 April to 7 November 1609*, edited by Robert M. Lunny with an introduction by John T. Cunningham (Newark, N. J.: The New Jersey Historical Society, 1959). 37 pp., map. Includes notes on the exploration of Delaware Bay, entered by one of Hudson's officers.
- ewis, Harold M., comp. *Preliminary Planning Studies for the City of Wilmington, Delaware* (Wilmington: Wilmington Planning Commission, 1953). 14+8 pp., maps.
- okken, Roy N. *David Lloyd: Colonial Lawmaker* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1959). 305 pp., illus. Includes a chapter on Lloyd's role in the separation of the Lower Counties from the Province of Pennsylvania.
- he *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist*, I, Nos. 1, 2 (September, December, 1959). Quarterly. Editor and publisher, Raymond B. Clark, Jr., 118 C Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C.
- unroe, John A. "Ardent Love," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, XVII, No. 1 (January, 1960), 112-13.
- he *175th Anniversary Service: Barratt's Chapel . . . Saturday, November 14, 1959. . . .* (n. p.: Peninsula Conference of the Methodist Church, 1959). 8 pp., illus.

- Protocol of the Lutheran Church in New York City 1702-1750*, tr. by Simon Hart and Harry J. Kreider (New York: The Synod, 1958). 523 pp., facsimiles, map. See index for Delaware references.
- Richards, Mildred Hoge. *The Descendants of Samuel Hogg of Wilmington, Delaware* (Tucson, Arizona: the compiler, 1959). 43 + xii pp., mimeo.
- Rogers, Ellen Stanley, and Louise E. Easter, eds. *1800 Census of Kent County Delaware* (Bladensburg, Md.: Genealogical Recorders, 1959). 104 pp., mimeo., map, index. Transcribed from the United States census returns, which include notes about towns and villages, e. g.: "Berry Town, situated on the Head of Gregories swamp, it contains 14 Houses, of all wood, & 32 inhabitants." A great deal of the land is listed as "Forrest."
- Rubincam, Milton and others. *Genealogical Research Methods and Sources* (Washington, D. C.: American Society of Genealogists, 1960). 456 pp. Chapter V, "Delaware," contributed by Leon de Valinger, Jr., describes the source materials available in this state.
- Smith, Alice E., ed. *The Journals of Welcome Arnold Greene: Journeys in the South, 1822-1824* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1957). 278 pp., illus. Interesting and detailed observations by a Rhode Island Quaker merchant. His impressions of Stanton and Wilmington are on pp. 76-78. It is through the interest of his grandson, the late Howard Greene of Christiana, that these journals have been preserved and published.
- Townsend, George A. *Katy of Catoctin* (Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1959). A republished novel about western Maryland which has been long out of print. This new edition has an introduction by Harold R. Manakee.
- U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. *Report, 1959* (Washington: Government Printing Office, [1959]). 668 pp., maps. For segregation in Delaware schools and housing, see index listing "Delaware."
- "The Wesley College News Letter," I, No. 1 (December, 1959). 2 pp., illus. Published by Wesley College, Dover, Del.
- Woodman, Eleanor. "The Mount Olivet Methodist Church Yard, Seaford, Delaware . . .," *The Maryland and Delaware Genealogist*, I, No. 1 (September, 1959).



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